177 tion of most of the T'u-ssu mansions during the Muslim rebellion, a small room serves as the tem-
792 ple, and there are no longer chaplains on permanent duty except in the three clans of Lu, Li, and Ch'i, where
177 the original temple still exists. The lamaistic deity honored by the clan of the Li T'u-ssu as its guardian is
776 Lhamo-tsang, represented as a black rider on a black mule, wearing a necklace of human skulls. The saddle is covered with a human skin. In her right hand the deity, who is female, grasps a sword, and in her left she holds a bowl made from a human skull. The mule is painted treading in blood. Lhamo is the only female among the eight "protector deities" of lamaism. She is said to be the reincarnation of the wife of Yama and the protector of Lhasa and of the Dalai and Panchen Lamas. Her paraphernalia is said to be provided for her by the gods in order to enable her to carry on her duties as protector.[52] I was unable to find out why, and at what time, the ancestor of the clan chose this monstrous deity as the protector of the clan. Nor is there any surviving tradition to explain what the clan spirits of the Monguors were like before they became modified by Lamaism.

624 After the veneration of the guardian deity, there is an official reception and congratulations are exchanged.
796 The community then leaves the courtyard and two sentries are posted at the gate to prevent free approach to the T'u-ssu. In assuming this inaccessibility at this point in the protocol, the T'u-ssu marks a departure from the familiarity of the clan or tribe, and puts on the aloofness of a high Chinese official. People who have problems to present to the T'u-ssu must ask the sentries for an audience and explain to them the problem they want to discuss. Those who want to make a legal claim, or to complain against an injustice or against the administration, must put their request in writing, and the requests are then given by the sentry to a secretary who transmits them to the T'u-ssu. Those who write down and forward the request must receive a remuneration.

624 On the following day the T'u-ssu begins a series of meetings with the chief men of the community, the elders, and the military officials. The first item of business is the examination of the village register, which is kept up to date every year. If any subjects have left the territory of the clan, the reasons are discussed and the possibility of bringing them back is considered. Accounts must be rendered of the administration of the village and the division of taxes and corvées. The T'u-ssu is interested in the harvest of the past three years, and in the observance of the old clan customs and traditions, veneration of the ancestors, reverence towards nobles, marriages, divorces, the religious festivals in the spring and autumn, the state of morals in the village, singing of obscene songs in the village, hospitality toward

---

[52] A. Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und Mongolei*, 66, 76, 175, Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1900 (guide to t[illegible] Ukhtomskii Collection).

[p. 65b]

/64 cont'd/

585 envelops the chopsticks. Then the son-in-law places himself on the left side of the bride, near enough to her so that his arm touches hers, and so that she knows when she must go ahead and stop. At the moment when they enter the courtyard, pieces of red felt are spread in their path one after the other. Cash, symbol of wealth, are thrown in front of them, and likewise wheat, symbol of fecundity. The couple is led straight to the kitchen where the T'ou-jen honor the god of the hearth. There the jug and the chopsticks which she held are taken from the bride, and these objects are put down before the god of the hearth, whom the bride salutes with three prostrations. (1)

1. "Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen /On Fire Worship among the Mongols/," by N. Poppe, Asia Major, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 141-142.

[776 782] - As can be seen from the above, much depends on the fire god. It is no wonder, then, that the young bride, when she first steps across the threshold of the new house, must bow in front of the hearth. By this act she puts herself under the protection of the fire god, since this same figure is the guardian spirit of the family. /Cited in German./

/65/ We have seen that at the bride's departure chopsticks were thrown on her mother's lap. This gesture meant that she no longer belonged to the clan; here, as soon as she arrives, she is incorporated into the bridegroom's family by being offered another pair of chopsticks and presenting them to the god of the hearth. From the kitchen she is led to the nuptial chamber, her head still veiled. On the four corners of the k'ang (1) have been put several cash, two packages of sugar, and some red lozenges.

[354] 1. K'ang: stove used in the north, on which the family spends the night.

/82 cont'd/

21. Relations of the Married Couple with the Daughter-in-law's Family

593 585 a) Relations of the married daughter with her own family after the wedding.

The daughter-in-law is incorporated into the family of her [776 782] husband. We have seen that upon her arrival at the door of the house she was given chopsticks and a jug of gin, and that then she was taken to the kitchen to honor the god of the hearth of her new family by prostrating herself three times and presenting her offering of gin and her chopsticks.

Henceforth she will call the members of her husband's family by the same name that he calls them; in speaking of them to a third person she will add the term gadin, which means relatives by marriage.

Because the husband's family bought her, she has become its property; her original family no longer has any rights over her. One /83/ expects therefore that the relations of the married daughter with her own family would be broken, or at least that they would be very much reduced. Now this is not the case, as the long and frequent visits she continues to make to her parents after the wedding prove, as well as the custom of keeping her valuables and her clothes in her original family.

593 574 As a matter of fact, custom has it that the husband takes his wife and children to the home of their relatives in the first month of the year. His wife will stay with her family for ten or 20 days, often for even a month. When this period has gone by, her brother takes her back to her parents-in-law. Toward the fifth of the fifth moon the husband takes her to her family for the second time. This visit is shorter; after a few days her brother takes her back. About the fifteenth of the eighth moon the husband takes her to her parents' home for the third time. This time she stays there 15 or 20 days or even a month. The fourth visit to her family takes place in the last [527] month of the year and lasts about 20 days. Her brother brings her back for the festival of the god of the hearth, a festival which

[8 cont.]

114 the author owes the safety of the materials collected entirely to
the helpfulness of his confreres. In addition to the Fathers
Eichinger and Grünewald, S.V.D., I should like to mention
here particularly Father Richard Haas, S.V.D., who shortly
thereafter was overtaken by a violent death in the Koko Nor
steppe.

4. The Sources (the Informant)

115 The informant came from Tuo-chia, that is, "Tuo home,"
about one kilometer east of Chi-chia-ling, which lies along the
mountain route from Kan-chia-pu (in the Sha-t'ang-ch'uan) to
Pai-nai (in the Ha-la-chih-kou). Tuo-chia gets its name from
[103] the informant's kin group [Sippe] and formerly embraced per-
haps four farmsteads, [9] of which, however, a part has been
destroyed by an avalanche. Today only two farms and the
temple remain. The Tuo have not always resided here. They
[166] come from the vicinity of the Tujen monastery Rgulōn, where
[423] a hundred years ago they owned two large horse pastures. Later
one of the ancestors moved to the vicinity of Chi-chia-ling and
cultivated the fairly extensive upland which paid tribute to the
monastery, but which today is the private property of the Tuo
family and pays taxes to the county of Huchu. It consists of
about 200 Chinese morgen.

114 The report applies primarily to this region, namely, to
the Tujen villages Chi-chia-ling, Ta-yang-chüan, Hsiao-
101 yangchüan, and Sha-pa-kou, up into the Na-ling-kou. Since,
however, according to my own observations and the statements
of the informant, the customs in the county of Huchu are quite
uniform, the area to which it is applicable can be extended
farther to include the villages between Huchu and Rgulōn. These
[628] villages carry on a very lively traffic with one another and are
extensively interrelated. As regards numbers, this report covers
approximately one quarter of all the Tujen of the Sining region,
an area generally regarded as their population center.

115 The old Tuo is kin-group elder and has two younger
●[776] brothers, who live with him, his sons, his sons' wives, and
[553] grandchildren's families. By his first name he is called yifula,

[9 cont.]
115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the
mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign
[776] of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to
[553] European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.

[805] Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres
[771] to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout
the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed
in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform
everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker,
overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is
asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old
Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen,
212 of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read
and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors.
[871] He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors,
local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary
[191] language. He does not have a sufficient command of the
Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows
the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to
whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He
himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable
number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain,
as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly
the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply
115 been lost. -- He does not speak the language of the Koko
191 Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if necessary.
Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols;
[648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with
the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuo-mang-szu.

124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old
man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to
visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the
way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he
came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about
the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared
in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

[19 cont.]

*778
787

[Note on foreign text p. 26 cont.] and the spirit litter, called chiao-chiao-tzu in Chinese. They, too, are provided with bells, colored bands of cloth, and metal mirrors, and are consecrated by the lama or by shamans. The "black tiger" is usually regarded as the spirit-table god, and the mother-goddess, Chinese niang-niang, as the spirit of the litter. Both the table and the figure of the goddess [Fig. 2 appears here] bear intestines together with the genitals. -- The table is not to be conceived as a table, but rather as a symbolic imitation of the animal figure with four legs and rump, which is further confirmed by the added intestines. Whereas in the case of the spirit-spear only one person addresses the spirit, in the case of the litter and the table there are several men. Two men hold the table between them, one seizing the front legs and one the hind legs. During the petitioning a man plants himself in front of them, and, depending upon the answer, the table begins to shake, jump, rear up, retreat, etc., without the two men being able to do anything against it. It is the same with the litter, which is borne by four men on their shoulders. Here a man likewise stands in front of the goddess and petitions her, and, depending upon the answer, the litter shakes on the bearers' shoulders, drives them forward, backwards, in a circle, etc. The men maintain that they are

●[776]

787

[21 cont.]

*778 front of the spear, the men in the room itself, the women in front of the door out in the open.

●776 *778 Only now can the spirit dwell in the spear. Which spirit it is depends entirely upon the owner of the spear. He tells this beforehand to hutukhtu who performs the consecration, and the latter gives an appropriate prayer of consecration. Only one spirit ever operates in a spear. The Tieṅgëre or the god of heaven never resides in the spear. The ones who do are always ordinary spirits, for instance, the mother-goddess, the tiger god, the mountain spirit, etc.

*778 [792] [527] [273] After the consecration the hutukhtu stays in the house until the following morning and is then dismissed with an appropriate remuneration. The master of the household, however, invites his friends and acquaintances in and celebrates the new event with them over barley wine and dances with song far into the night.

[346] Storage of the spear: Since an entire village can have a spear consecrated, it frequently happens that it is simply kept in the communal temple of the place. This is also often the case with regard to private individuals, because the temple is regarded as the most eminent place. In the temple itself it stands in a wooden stand next to the other gods on one of the many altars. Sometimes it is simply propped against the wall in a god's niche.

[346] If somebody wants to keep the spear in his own yard, a special chapel is required. Most of the house chapels are constructed specifically for such a spear. Here, too, it may stand in a rack, lean against the wall, or be driven into the clay floor. All that matters is that the spear stand upright. For instance, one may never lay it flat on the altar. The master of the [782] household often gives the little incense offering in front of the [791] spear. It is not necessary that a spear be kept in the house of the [22] village soothsayer; indeed, many soothsayers have no spirit-spear themselves.

346 *778 The room or the temple in which the spear stands is simply called "house of holies." It is usually only a room in the yard. It must be separated from all the other rooms by a wall and

[30 cont.]

> 756 [Note on foreign text pp. 32-33 cont.]
> 787 to Shang-wu-chwang there is a village
> 792 with a small lamasery [33] from which
> *778 the shamans of Kumbum come, who
> appear especially on New Year's. As a missionary tells me, in the village there in quite recent times a young man was doing exercises almost daily, going into a trance on the river bank, fighting with a sword, shooting arrows, etc.
>
> In any case all the lamaseries attach great importance to having a shaman who, possessed by the tutelary spirit dPekar, prophesies on New Year's. I observed these shamans in Kuo-mang-szu and Kumbum. In the Tujen lamasery, where a living shaman-monk was not to be found, I saw on New Year's a life-sized figure set up in full shaman regalia. At the sooth-
> [791] saying on the fifteenth day, however, the spear-soothsayer acted in his stead in the temple yard, where the dances take place, before the hutukhtu, the assembled monks, and all the people. In Kuo-mang-
> [562] szu I even saw a woman appear in the temple as a shaman, but she did not represent the usual type of sgurdien.

The lama does not put the shaman costume on his protégé. Usually he comes to the monastery without any costume and does not see to it until later. Frequently his own village helps to provide it. He makes the two-edged sword himself or has it made by the smith.

756 The tutelary spirit: The tutelary spirit always reveals
•776 itself to the shaman; a lama cannot designate a tutelary spirit for anyone. The shaman often calls himself "spirit-
*[778] disciple" or "spirit-protégé." The spirit has its seat in the

[30 cont.]

756 sword. Frequently the shaman hangs an image of his tutelary
*778 spirit over the household altar. He must burn incense in front
of it every day, just as before his sword; at certain times he
[776] sacrifices goats, sheep, or pigs to it.

[782] The amulet cases with the image of the tutelary spirit
are bought by the shamans in the monasteries or in the monastery
[439] markets. They are fairly expensive since they usually come
[792] from Peking, Shanghai, or Tibet.

756 Everything that the shaman does he does by virtue of his
tutelary spirit. As such the following come into consideration:
776 the dragon gods, the tiger god, the great mother, and in general the many lower spirits of the yellow religion that can take possession of a person. Heaven, however, can never become the tutelary spirit of the shaman.

756 Task of the shaman: The sword-shaman is supposed to
prophesy, heal the sick, conjure away storms, drive away demons.
463 He may not interfere in the activities of the lamas, Bon priests, or drum-shamans. For instance, he is not permitted to erect a mani-tree, but he may set up an ordinary mani-flag on the yard gate. Also, he may not undertake the ceremony of the pole-goat or hold sowing and harvest festivals; he does not officiate at funerals and weddings.

755 The ceremonies for healing the sick are quite manifold.
756 The following is the most common. First of all the shaman
puts himself in a trance. Then a man brings him a large iron
[787] spoon filled with water. The shaman tears a piece of cloth from his protective mirror, throws it into the water, scatters some barley grains over it, and holds the spoon over the open [31] fire until the water boils and the cloth is thoroughly steeped. Then he takes out the cloth and gives the broth to the sick person to drink.

756 In order to purify or to punish themselves or in order to
783 demonstrate their authenticity, they swallow fire, hold their hand in the flames, pierce themselves with the sword, slit their bodies open, lick red-hot iron, etc.

[31 cont.]

192 756 *[778]	The shaman's sword:	aradzi = two-edged sword; wadãm (Tib.) (12); chien (Chin.).

12. [Foreign text p. 33.] wadam: Tibetan dpa-gdam = sword. -- sõṅkuor: Tibetan skyoṅ = protection, 'k'or = little disks (Unkrig).

●[776]	The tutelary-spirit --	hada: šdien = the consecrated, as it is called before it is stuck in the bag; sõṅkuor (Tib. loanword) (12) [see note 12 above] = protective fort, as it is called when it is inside the bag; the amulet is also called this.
*[778]	Chest-mirror:	mălõṅ (Tib. loanword); hu-hsin ching (Chin.) = the mirror protecting the heart.
	Headcloth:	tolġue bãṅladzin = the head covering. pao-chin = packing cloth (Chin.).
	Rattles:	xõnguor; ling-êrh (Chin.).
	Plowshare:	timur ndziesë; t'ieh-hua (Chin.).
	Thorns:	huang-ts'ê (Chin.).
[789]	To banish devils:	ilie sdzira; pudaǧ sdzira = to banish filth.

Recompense for the shaman: hsiang-ch'ien = incense money.

[Pages 31-33 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[33]

791

3. The Bon Priest*

* See "Notes," pp. 34-35 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

There are two kinds of Bon priests: the nomads and the

[45 cont.]

782
534

[Note on foreign text p. 48-49 cont.] may also be the reason why the Tujen always try to obtain such a conch and blow it in the morning at the incense offering in the yard.

For the rest, the conch in itself is made to order for the offering. It formerly served as an offering bowl; cf. Ch. Das (p. 627). Today it is regarded as the third of the eight offerings (mc'od brgyad) or good-luck symbols (bkra šis rtags brgyad) as a sign of being turned in the right direction, sending out lovely sounds to the ten points of the compass; cf. Filchner (Unkrig): Kumbum, p. 21.

782
183 All these objects that have been enumerated are part of a complete incense offering. Since a family only rarely has these accessories on hand, the offering is usually given in the simple form, that is, people content themselves with cypress twigs, tsamba, and water-sprinkling. Not even butter and milk have been available recently among the Tujen. [262]

782
[776] Meaning: The incense offering is primarily to heaven, as is the first kowtow. In the second place, it is intended to honor the mountain and earth spirit, and in the third place all the other countless spirits. Oral prayers are not spoken, but one usually says or thinks: "Heaven knows it." The offering is a request for protection and pleases the spirits because of the distinguished gifts. Hence, the men give it at all religious ceremonies, for instance, at the sowing festival, at the veneration of the obo, at the sheep sacrifice, etc. It is left to burn for hours during the entire procedure. Since the Tujen have practiced the incense offering since time immemorial, it constantly recurs in the songs (8).

[177] 8. [Foreign text p. 49.] The incense

[63 cont.]

Report

*778 On the mountains in the vicinity of the villages, the Tujen like to erect an obo. This is a large stonepile over a pit in which all kinds of things are buried. On these stonepiles stands a large square wooden frame, in which all kinds of weapons, tree twigs, and mani-flags are placed. Frequently several smaller stonepiles run from the obo to the four points of the compass; there will be at least one row in the direction of the mountain ridge.

*778 The obo is dedicated to the mountain-spirit. It protects
782 the village and the individual family. The obo is venerated
three times each month with an incense offering. Sheep sacri-
● [776] fices also often take place at the obo. On special occasions a
lama or Bon priest is invited to pray before the obo. When air-
[792] horses are released, it is done preferably from the peak on
[791] which an obo stands. -- Every year a large folk festival takes
place near the obo.

Details

*778 Place: The obo is always erected on a mountain height.
[621] A place by a pass is preferred. It need not be the highest moun-
tain in the area. Each village may have its own obo, or several
[628] villages may erect an obo together. In the latter case they
agree upon a favorable place between the villages (1).

[171] 1. [Foreign text p. 68.] The obo need not always be on a mountain. In other regions around Sining one finds obos on the plain, for instance, near Fandse and Chiafandse settlements. Even here, however, trees are almost always present. Nevertheless, the Tujen maintain that they would never build an obo on the plain, for, according to them, an obo belongs to the mountain-spirit and must

[63 cont.]

*778 [Note on foreign text p. 68 cont.]
therefore stand on a mountain. --
They take the sacred place quite
[821] seriously. Thus, it is striking that
for all Tujen villages mountain
terrain is set aside, a piece of grass
land with forest, where no agriculture may be carried on. Where the
Chinese intervene, however, these
mountain groves disappear. From
these sparse remains one can imagine
what the now bare agricultural land
looked like in former times.

*778 The mountain on which the obo stands may not be defiled.
784 No fields may be laid out there; the trees may not be cut down;
the grass may not be cut; the ground may not be turned up. The
animals that live there, for instance, hares, foxes, birds, are
not hunted or killed. Everything must be left just as it grows
[231] and thrives by nature; the cattle may not graze there at any
[776] time. This place, namely, belongs to the mountain-spirit and
is called sacred mountain.

*778 The obo pit: When the obo is erected, a pit is dug. All
[792] kinds of valuables are put in it, primarily treasure-urns (earth-god urns), as in the case of the central fort of the compound.
[791] The obo is erected by a lama or Bon priest. No [64] Tujen of
[178] the present generation has seen this ceremony. The present-day obos still stem from olden times and are more and more
falling into disrepair. Therefore no one knows any more precisely what is buried in the obo.

The stone mound: The height of the mound varies, depending on the circumstances. First an outer wall is put in layers in circular form. A large number of little stones are put inside the circle up to the edge, and these are supposed to be white stones. At every obo veneration additional stones are

[66 cont.]

527 [171] [Note on foreign text p. 69 cont.] Mongols and Tangut. According to the informant, a day in the sixth month is always chosen, but it does not always have to be the sixth day. It is the time at which formerly the obos were erected, and it seems to be a matter of the yearly return. -- Nowa-
[178] days these festivals have more or less degenerated into a Chinese commercial racket, as has, for instance, the festival in the New Year's month at Wei-yüan-pu (Huchu), which is really a Tujen festival. Only the horse racing and the singing of songs have remained from olden times.

*778 Obo and mountain-spirit: The obo is the dwelling of the
●776 mountain-spirit. Everything that grows on the earth, grass, trees, flowers, the wild animals, and human beings, belongs to him. From the obo he guards the welfare of the tribe (ayil) and protects animal and man. The wild and tame animals are
[782] [825] his herd and the wolves his dogs. For that reason an offering is made to the mountain-spirit before the obo whenever the wolves become too destructive. He can keep them in check.

The silk (cloths or bands) on the obo signifies the clothes of the mountain spirit; the white color of the obo wall, his eminence and his good fortune.

The obo is the armory of the village and of the mountain-spirit. In olden times it was from here that the men fetched their weapons for battle and for athletic contests. [67] And
[411] they brought them back here. Nowadays the Tujen are peaceful farmers; they no longer use their weapons. Therefore they surrender them to the mountain-spirit.

[782] The mountain-spirit is given something from everything that is valuable: gold, silver, silk, etc. All the good fortune, the wealth, and the preservation of the village are guaranteed through him. The mountain-spirit provides the descendants;

[67 cont.]

*778 the little stone mounds signify fertility (4).

●776

4. [Foreign text p. 69.] The Tujen distinguish three great spirits: the sky, the mountain-spirit, and the earth-god. It should be emphasized that the characteristics of the mountain-spirit come fairly close to those of the sky (cf. Part 2). -- The special sacrificial animal for the mountain-spirit and the sky is the sheep. -- To the earth one sacrifices pigs, and always in the compound, whereas one sacrifices to the sky and the mountain-spirit usually in the open. -- The ritual for the pig sacrifice is the same as for the sheep sacrifice: washing, fumigating, milk pouring, etc., which makes a very strange impression in the case of this animal, an indication that the pig sacrifice was not adopted until a later time and was confused with the sheep-sacrifice rituals.

[231]

539
*778 The first obo: According to the Tujen legend of the Geser xaan, the first obo was erected in the golden age of mankind by the first xaan on earth, the Hamluo siergän:

"Everything was very good. It was a time of honey and fat. At the beginning of the three summer months he erected a regieṅguo obo on the peak of the Rira-ntumbo. Hamluo siergän sank into contemplation. Of (sc. the three) Gadbo Huala, Šdonšdog Sienba, Sasin Dadma, one went to break cypress twigs, one to buy spices, and one to gather white stones. He sat in contemplation for a week. When a week had passed, he erected the regieṅguo obo. In the obo he placed the mother dog Tsila, on whose body he scattered spice-medicine. He wrapped silk around its body. Then he sprinkled holy water over it. He invited the regieṅguo lama, who recited the consecrating

[67 cont.]

Word List

192

*778 Obō: lašdzē (lawdzē, ladzē) (Tib. loanword) (7).
mao-chi (Chin.);these are the signs for reed - good fortune.
Shan-shen (Chin.) = mountain-spirit (7).

•[776]

7. [Foreign text p. 70.] The statement of the old man that the expression obō is unknown in his region was surprising to me. I found it confirmed; at least it is not used among the Tujen there, which is all the more surprising since the Chinese use the word obō the most. The Tujen almost exclusively use the Tibetan loanword lašdzē (or lawdzē). Farther away, to be sure, there are Tujen who are familiar with both designations; lašdzē is nothing other than the Tibetan la-rtse, "mountain top," according to Ch. Das (p. 1200): "the summit of a pass." The relationship to the cult of heights and the mountain-spirit is clear. -- Besides the foreign word obō (Mong. obuġa, DMF 296) the Chinese also have the name mao-chi.

The Chinese expression mao-chi has no logical meaning in itself. In the Tangkar chronicle I saw for it the sign for reeds (mao) and good fortune (chi); there are also other ways of writing it. This shows that a phonetic imitation of a foreign word is involved here. The original word for it, however, cannot be determined. In the region of the Chia-Hsifan around Kumbum the name shan-shen, that is, mountain-spirit, is used the most. With it the Chinese simply identify the obo with the spirit, which corresponds with the situation, since it is in fact the seat of the mountain spirit.

[776]

[68 cont.]

192
*778

[Note on foreign text p. 71 cont.]
la rtse - obo, yar = upward, stod la = upward, to place on top. -- rē̈dzioñ: Tibetan žon = to ride. -- yifula: Tibetan ri bo = mountain, hill, lha = spirit. -- ndziġdien: Tibetan 'jig = transitoriness, rten = container. A Buddhistic mode of expression for the world: the ten containers of transitoriness (Unkrig).

Little stonepiles: lawdzē̈ dzidziġa = obo chicks.

Obo sheep-offering: lawdzē̈ tada xoni šē̈ṅlie = to sacrifice a sheep before the obo.

[782] The lama prays before the obo: lama lawdzē̈ tada mošguni.

The offerings: yilenē̈ šē̈ṅlie = total offerings.

To dwell at the obo: lawdze tada sō-.

To set up a tent: bekărge posġuo-.

[541] Horse racing: mori holilġa = to make horses race.

Whose horse is fast: kā̈ni m̑ori gurdā?

[529] Shooting competition: sē̈mu sē̈muda- = to shoot arrows.

Whose skill with weapons is great: kā̈ni xuawu šgewa?

The young people wrestle: mula kunsgē̈ walde-.

Whose strength is great: kā̈ni kudzi šgewa?

Large and small sing together: šge mulasgē̈ nigē̈ dōlā-.

Whose songs are many: kā̈ni dō uluona?

[541] Obo horse-racing: lawdzē̈ šda rē̈dzioñ (Tib. (8) [see Note 8 above].

[527] Obo festival: lawdzē̈ šdodlō, mori holġani = to make the horses run pelting the obo.

[621] [757] The obo protects human beings: lawdzē̈ ayili kun, ase, mulā-sē̈la, nasā, ġuosāni furõṅlāni = the obo of the village (kin group) protects human beings, animals, little children, from epidemics and strife.

[776] The mountain-spirit: yifu la (Tib.) (8) [see Note 8 above].

[73 cont.]

*1778 These extra features were supposed to represent the seven jewels, but they cannot be obtained, and hence the objects enumerated are used as substitutes.

In addition, all kinds of spices are put in it, which the lama himself brings. These are the 74 kinds of earth-god spices. In addition there are five strands of thread in the sacred colors, or even individual threads. They are placed vertically in the filling.

The filling is done in the following order: First the earth and the wood are placed inside and sprinkled with spring water. Then the first bundle of scrolls is set inside and filled out with the grain. Over that come the other extra features, up to half of the urn. Then the second layer with the second scroll bundle follows, exactly like the first one. Finally fluid butter is poured over the whole up to the edge, and precisely like the earth-god urn it is tied with a red or yellow cloth, sealed, and at the end where the seal hangs down it is painted with a nuru sign. Then the second large urn and the eight accompanying urns follow. The accompanying urns have no Buddha-bundles (2).

*1778
●776

2. [Foreign text p. 78.] The scrolls placed in the urns are supposed to represent certain spirits; according to the informant, the lowest scrolls represent the earth-god and the uppermost the mountain-spirit, each with its four companions. On the other hand, according to his statements, there seem to be many kinds of such spirits since the leaves of paper are correspondingly printed differently. Clarity could not be obtained. The leaves of paper, however, also act as magic, as is indicated by their name, snaġ, that is, magic(sayings). The cloth and thread wrappings represent the clothes of the spirit. -- There is

[73 cont.]

*778 776 suggested the assumption that in the case of the scrolls four spirits of the compass points are involved. The fact that the lama gives a special votive prayer over them means that the urn actually does become the dwelling of the spirits. -- The four accompanying urns are supposed to have the same significance as the other earth-god urns, in other words, additional gifts to the earth-god, or offerings. It may be, however, that they represent the points of the compass, just as is possible in the case of the central fort. -- Concerning the significance of the accompanying urns, there is no uniform popular conception.

*778 Consecration of the urns: All the urns are now placed together on one or two wooden trays, on which cypress leaves and barley grains have been scattered. The trays are brought by the master of ceremonies to the chest in front of the household deity. The lama makes a torma and places it in front of the urns. Now, after a butter-lamp has been lighted in front of each urn and seven little water-bowls stand in front of them, the lama sprinkles holy water over them and places the holy water-can on a little plate with Tibetan barley before the urns on the chest. Now he sits down on a felt mat and gives the votive prayer over the urns. He may also do this on his kang. Afterwards everything is again fumigated. In the yard, meanwhile, the great incense offering is burning.

*778 824 The sky column: As soon as the lama has come, the village elders present a petition to him and have him give the regulations for the tree that is to stand as the column in the chorten chamber. They then fetch a carpenter from the village

[76 cont.]
*778 and incense, as an obo is. On these occasions new clay cones
are thrown into it through the gaps. Usually this is on the first,
346 eighth, and fifteenth day of the month. At other times, too,
782 however, in case of emergency and misfortune, the people
venerate the chorten chamber. The procession always goes
from west to east, in other words, not in the direction of the
course of the sun.

*778 Meaning: The chorten chamber is connected with the
[776] mountain-spirit and earth-god. The column establishes the
● connection with the sky. The chamber holds down the hostile
[772] earth-influences. Thus it protects against misfortune and illness (6).
[751]

6. [Foreign text p. 79.] The urn,
the mountain, and the tree are essential for the bẽṅkãṅ. Therefore
it belongs in the same conceptual
[772] realm as the central fort in the yard,
namely, the widespread myth of
heaven and earth, joined (or separated)
by the world-tree. In this connection,
in the case of the central fort the
mani-flag might be Lamaist-secondary, and in the case of the chorten
chamber the sasa-mountain, which
consists of the mani-cones, as they
are sometimes called. -- Now that a
house is built over it, it is probably
quite secondary. It evidently only
has the function of protection and no
inner relationship to its contents. It
is striking that the sky column likewise is not erected as the bearer of
the ridge-piece; it is freestanding
and does not extend to the beam.
[171] Also, in the case of the customs

[623]

Details

852
787 The oracle: On the morning of the anniversary of the birth, the father brings the child into the main house or into the kitchen and sets it on the kang. He places a kang table with three little baked loaves of bread, five steamed loaves of bread, and a cup of tea in front of it. Next to it, for a boy, he puts a span-long bow with a small arrow, brush, paper, and money; for a girl, these are needle, yarn, ell, scissors, knife. The three little baked loaves signify the three Buddhistic world-
[776] spirits (2). The five steamed loaves symbolize the five blessings
[777] of good fortune: age, wealth, health, virtue, blessed death (1).

[171]

The parents give the child some of the bread to eat and let it drink tea, or the mother suckles it. Then they ask it to grasp at the things on the kang table. If the boy grasps
[778] money, he will be an industrious tradesman; if he seizes bow

---

2. [Foreign text p. 624.] It could not be ascertained which three names are individually involved. sãṅrēdzi (Illuminated One) is the title for the Tulkus; cf. section, "The Lama-reception," and Note 6 below.

1. [Foreign text pp. 623.] Chinese and Tibetan conceptions are mixed in the explanation of these loaves, for the Chinese also have this birthday ceremony. The Chinese proverb, wu fu p'eng shou, the five good-fortune- [624] (signs) hold up the age-(sign). A custom at New Year's: The sign shou is written in the center of a red paper, and in a circle around it the five signs for good fortune, fu.

9

[623 cont.]

192 776 The three world-spirits: dier xsēm sañrēdzi (6) (Tib. manner of speaking).

6. [Foreign text p. 625.] dier xsēm sañrēdzi: xsēm = Tib. gsum = three; sañrēdzi = Tib. saṅs-rgyas = widespread splendor = Buddhistic title for incarnation. -- dier cannot be identified; it must be Tibetan, however, and mean the same as "region, world." I would like to connect it with the three worlds of the Bon; cf. Hoffmann, Quellen [Sources], p. 139; Francke, Hochzeitslieder [Wedding Songs], pp. 5 ff. -- This tripartition is also familiar to the Chinese; one has only to think of the Taoistic san-ching or the Buddhistic san-chieh.

192 777 The five blessings of good fortune: wu-fu (Chin.).

[Pages 623-625 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[625] 3. The New Year's Festival*

527

* See "Notes," pp. 628-629 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

[171] [574] The New Year is celebrated by the Tujen at the same time as by the Chinese. In the first days they rest from all work,

[626 cont.]

527
782
[783]
[789]

[Note on foreign text p. 628 cont.] The fumigating with the red-hot stone is supposed to purify the house and drive away the demons, like the exploding of rockets.

Then a second offering follows. The master of the household takes little sticks of incense, one for each member of the family, and lights them in the room above the lamp. Then he goes out around the mani-pole and, with all the members of the family, makes a threefold kowtow to the sky, facing the main house. He puts the little sticks in the incense oven on the round manger. Then the same ceremony is repeated in the house before the household altar, where the new little sticks continue to smolder in the incense basin. [789] During the entire ceremony rockets and cannons are fired in order to scare away the demons. [171] Together with the incense, yellow paper is also burned, exactly as among the Chinese (8).

[776]
[372]

8. [Foreign text p. 629.] As among the Chinese, the hearth-god is also carried off and on New Year's morning is again festively carried in. I was unable to learn anything concerning an original Tujen ceremony with respect to the hearth fire. Since time immemorial an incense offering has been made to the hearth-god, but it is uncertain whether on this occasion cypress twigs were thrown into the fire. Nowadays little sticks of incense are generally put on the wall behind the hearth, precisely as among the Chinese.

[372]
[783]

Another fire ceremony takes place in the first full-moon night of the year from the fourteenth to the fifteenth day. Young people light a series of little straw fires (10 to 15) on the path or on

[626 cont.]
527 threefold kowtow is again made to the sky. The same ceremony
782 is repeated before the household altar for the other gods.

[627] Gratulation: Meanwhile, the old people of the
527 household have also arisen. Now they, too, pay their New Year's
888 reverence to the sky and the countless spirits. Then they sit
576 down on the kang with the master of the household and the family elder for tea and receive the kowtow from their sons and daughters. Then the general breakfast takes place. The children kowtow before their parents, the younger siblings before the older siblings, the younger cousins before the older cousins, etc. The old ones give younger ones some money.

171
527 The welcoming of joy: Towards midday the welcoming
of the god of joy takes place. For this one drives the animals
[776] onto the threshing floor, makes an offering of bread and wine, burns incense, waters the animals, and again drives them home. This practice is exactly the same as among the Chinese (7).

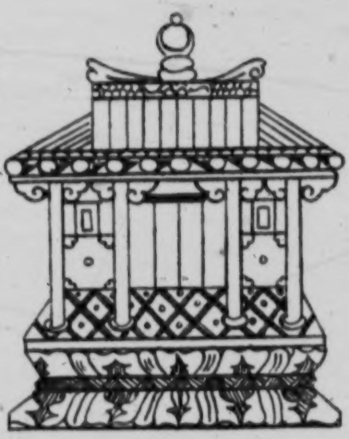
[787] 7. [Foreign text p. 629.] At New Year's the Tujen also question all kinds of oracles in a way similar to that of the Chinese, for example, the feed oracle, in connection with which one feeds the animals with various kinds of bread in order to prophesy concerning the harvest (cf. Schröder, "Ying-hsi, and Note 3 above). Another oracle is the ice-breaking. Young boys and men go to the river, take a sheet of ice, and break it apart. In the break lines pictures of species of grain are recognizable; the species that appear most clearly may be expected to have the best harvest during the year. This oracle is also found among the Chinese.

[636 cont.]

174 [Note on foreign text p. 651-652. cont.]
764 valley in Hsi-ch'uan. The so-called Chia Hsifan (Village Fandse), who originally were Mongols and are Sinicized today, live there. They, too, exactly like the Tujen, put the dead in a crouching position in the crouch-box, although they do not cremate them, but bury them.

Furthermore, the Taoist monks and people who died in a sitting position are buried sitting in the crouch-box. There is an interesting corresponding expression for the death of such people, *sōwā guei wōldzia*, he has departed sitting, in Chinese *tsuo-hua*, that is, to be transformed sitting. The word *sō-* can mean "to sit" as well as "to contemplate." Such people are regarded as saints who,
[776] in contemplation, pass into another world. A death in this position is also regarded as especially honorable. A
[778] chorten is usually erected on the graves of these people. -- For the Taoist sitting burial, cf. the picture. This photograph was posed. The Taoist priest of Kanchiapu was happy to have himself photographed in his death-box and showed how he would be placed in the box. He kept this box standing in his temple and with pride showed each visitor this beautifully painted piece of carving. A very fine picture is also to be found in F. Dransmann, *T'aishan-Kūfu Guide*, p. 19. It is the mummy of the Taoist priest Suin, who at the time of Kanghsi worked for 60 years on the T'aishan and, crouching in the death-box, [652]was buried there in the "Grotto of the Immortal" (*hsien-*

764 [637 cont.]
465 his work and, in addition, twelve
loaves of bread, two ells of white
322 cloth, and a small measure of
wheat (six pounds). After the
work is done, this measure
of wheat is put on the house-
[782] hold altar, and the carpenter
puts his tools on it. The
master of the household
sticks a few burning incense-
sticks among them and puts
the loaves before them.
Then everyone makes a three-
[532] fold kowtow (7). The carpenter does not receive the white cloth
until the funeral meal.



Death-box
(Drawing of a Tujen)

[782]
●[776] 7. [Foreign text p. 653.] This ceremony actually has nothing to do with the death-box. It is customary after all carpentry work; it is done to honor the tutelary god of the carpenter, Lu-pan-yeh. It is a Chinese custom.
[177]

764 Lying in state: If the box is already available at death, the corpse is immediately put in it. If it is not yet ready, then the people put the dead in a crouching position on the kang or on the floor of the room in which he died. First, however, they lay down a white felt mat as a pad; straw is not used. No one may sleep or live in the same room with the dead, only in an adjoining room. A table with 12 loaves of bread, which come from the deceased's own family, and a water-lamp stand before the crouching corpse.

[462]
[593] Putting the corpse in the box is always done by men. The son puts his father and mother inside. The father, however, never puts his son in; that is taken care of by the young brothers or cousins.

[637 cont.]

764 cousins. Female persons are also put in the box by men. Then, after the corpse has been propped up with straw, a board is slid in at the back from above. The men then wash their hands. The box is put in a room and placed on four raised clay bricks, so that it will be easy to pick it up later to carry it. A white felt mat is usually spread out beforehand. The box of a deceased master of the household or his wife always stands in the main house; in other cases it is put in the room in which the dead person used to live.

Next to the box there is a small, coffin-like little casket whose lid is pegged down like those of the Chinese coffins. It is the little casket in which the bones that remain after cremation are kept. Usually a rolling pin (noodle roller), which was
412 made at the same time as the coffin or death-box, leans
764 against the box (8). [638] Other rolling pins are not used at
[322] all.

[177] 8. [Foreign text p. 653.] This custom, too, seems to have been borrowed from the Chinese. The rolling pin is called mien-kan or kan-ch'ang in Chinese. On the average it is one meter long and three to four centimeters thick. It is used principally to roll noodles. The rolling pin is also
[778] called pai-hu by the Chinese, that is,
[787] white tiger, because it can become
● [776] the seat of the tiger god for soothsaying or shamanistic ceremonies, just as the spirit-spear becomes the seat of the spirit. The rolling pin is also handled in the following way: a man takes it with both hands and calls down the demon into it; then the roller shakes and trembles.

The enemy of the rolling pin is the
[776] threshing roller, lu-chu. It represents the dark (green) dragon, ch'ing-lung,

[638 cont.]

764 [Note on foreign text p. 653 cont.]
412 the declared opponent of the white
[776] tiger. -- Furthermore, the white tiger
is powerless against anything that
comes from the dead or is connected
with the dead; he fears coffins, death-
[322] boxes, burials, etc. For that reason
coffin-making is the best opportunity
for making a rolling pin, and there-
fore the rolling pin is propped against the
death-box. The relationship of the
tiger to the rolling pin is thereby neutra-
[322] lized. -- People very rarely have a
rolling pin made other than at the time
of a burial; the carpenter must then
plane the pole on a threshing roller,
the enemy of the white tiger. The
millstone also has an effect similar
to that of the threshing roller, for it
crushes the provider of the "white,"
that is, the grain from which the flour
comes.

764 all. As in the case of the crouching corpse, a small kang table
with the gifts to the dead is also placed before the death-box.
171 Men and women kowtow before it, burn white paper, like the
[782] Chinese, and weep aloud (9).

9. [Foreign text p. 653.] Aside
from the bone-casket I once saw a
small wooden casket of coffin-like
form beside a death-box. The peo-
[789] ple said a small manlike doll lay in
it. It was supposed to keep misfortune
and death away from the house. The
informant had not yet seen that and
thought that this custom had come from

[642 cont.]

764 in the house and takes the torma to the place where he wants the
792 crematory to be built. The incense offering is then made in
front of the torma, but without any extra features, except tsamba
782 and butter; the lama sprinkles the fire with holy water. While
he then prays on a white felt mat, the others kowtow. In this
● [776] way the lama requests the place for the cremation from the
mountain-spirit; the incense and the torma are meant for the
mountain-spirit. In making the choice, the lama takes into
account the evenness of the ground, since for these ceremonies
he needs a suitable place for the table and the mat he sits on.

764 [643] Erection of the crematory: Now [illustration ap-
333 pears here] an oven is built out of clay bricks. The torma is set to one side, and no further attention is paid to it. First the men build a quadrangular base, about two ells high and two ells wide; on this they erect the round crematory, about four ells high. It looks like a barrel. On the west side a broad longitudinal slit remains open, through which the corpse is set inside. On each side of the base a large hole is left for the firing. The oven is calked with clay and lime and then is painted white (25).

25. Foreign text pp. 657-658.] The crematory may be made in various forms. The one copied from the crematory of the lamas (cf. the drawing made by a Tujen) is regarded as the most superior one. Similarities with the understructure of the chorten cannot be
[778] denied. On graves of persons who died sitting up, I saw chorten which represented an almost exact copy of the crematory, only slightly more rounded. -- When the fire-pouring is undertaken
[532] at the cremation, the ground-drawing is naturally also made, and usually not on the ground itself, [658] but rather one puts down a large leaf of paper with

[646 cont.]

764 the little bones go into it, however, for it is only an ell long and two handbreadths high. The lid is pegged down, like a Chinese coffin. The remaining bones are carried by hand, aprons, or in a back-basket to the nearest mountain height. Animals as a rule do not eat them because they are burned. Only sheep like to nibble on them. The bones decompose very rapidly, however.

The bone-chest is placed in the oven, weighted down with clay bricks, and then the oven is torn down so that it forms a little mound with the chest buried under it. This is always done if the cremation has taken place after the harvest during the period before the grave festival in the third month. [765 769] At the grave festival, the Chinese ch'ing-ming, the bone-chest is buried in the communal family cemetery. The place of the cremation is leveled.

If the cremation is after the grave festival, then the oven is, to be sure, torn down and the place again cultivated, but the bone-chest is not buried at the place of the oven, but on a remote ridge of arable land in a field belonging to [765] the deceased's own family. Only at the next grave festival in the following year is it transferred to the family cemetery.

If the cremation has taken place on a distant mountain far from the family, then a tent is pitched there to wait until the third day, the bones are stored, and the chest is brought down in order to bury it on the ridge of a field on one's [776 778 823] own land. Such a cremation may never be undertaken on the peak of a mountain, but about halfway up. The peak is sacred to the mountain-spirit and may not be desecrated.

If the bone-chest has been buried in the oven or field, then the relatives burn white paper before it, throw pieces of bread on the bone-grave, and pour out tea before it for the dead. Then they kowtow and go home. The guests are treated with tsamba and butter in the house of mourning. The [465] master of ceremonies receives 12 loaves of bread and two ells of white cloth; the two fire guards are given six loaves each and two ells of cloth.

[648 cont.]

766 buried, or simply burned. No death ceremonies are undertaken. At the burning they receive no box, but are reduced to ashes, like the girls.

Like the boys, girls under ten years of age may also be exposed, buried, or burned. The corpse then usually becomes [775] prey for dogs and wolves. Girls over ten years of age, however, must be burned, for at this time menstruation may set in, and ● [776] their souls are then dangerous demons, of which even the other spirits are afraid (22). The burning is done without any ceremony

766
775

22. [Foreign text p. 657.] Why the girls are so dangerous could not be clearly established. Perhaps the same notion as is behind the pai-ta lies at the root of it, namely, that the soul leaves this life dissatisfied, that is, that after the girl attained maturity she did not achieve her proper destiny in marriage. There [588] is no death-marriage here, as, for example, in Shantung, so the soul cannot rest in peace. This soul demon, however, is destroyed through burning, according to the statements of the Chinese and Tujen. I know of a case in which a Chinese girl was exhumed and burned two years after her death because something uncanny was always happening in the family and one accident followed another. That, however, did not help either. -- Shamanistic conceptions, too, are certainly suggested. One need only recall that the Bon priests make the bone flute from the bones of such a girl and the whip from her skin.

[822 cont.]

241 782 756 [292] The shamans are always men (2). They wear women's
[534] clothes and a woman's hairdo. Their drum consists of an iron
or wooden ring over which is stretched a sheepskin. They carry
[535] the litter of the mother-goddess onto a threshing floor and dance
before it. During the dance the drums are beaten. They do all
[787] kinds of acrobatic feats, and one of them goes into a great
trance and wounds himself.

241 782 The sowing festival takes place during the period from the third to the fifth month, the harvest festival in the ninth or tenth month. No village celebrates both festivals. There is no harvest festival where the sowing festival is held, and there is no sowing festival where there is a harvest festival.

[823] At the sowing festival one prays for protection against storms and for rain; at the harvest festival one expresses thanks for the harvest. [The notes given above as numbered footnotes appear here.]

600 2. The Pole-goat *

---

[776] 2. [Foreign text p. 823.] The name for these shamans is bō, in other words, the typical Mongolic word. The Tujen strictly differentiate them from the other shamans and the Bon priests. They are the cult dancers designated by the Chinese as fa-shih, that is, sorcerer, or shih-kung, that is, teacher, whose chief goddess is the Niang-niang, that is, mother.

* See "Notes," pp. 829-830 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designation for them in the text.]

[828 cont.]

The veneration of the pole-goat: During the summer the
241 farmers appear singly or together before the pole-goat, make an
789 offering, pray, burn incense, and kowtow in order to protect the
791 seed from hail. The Bon priest also comes often to pray. In
former times he even pitched his tent for a longer period of time
782 and remained there in order to be constantly on hand for the
weather conjuration in case of storms. This is no longer the
case today. The weather conjuration is now done by the soothsayer, usually the spirit-soothsayer.

Taking down the pole-goat: After the fifteenth day in the eighth lunar month, when the harvest has been cut, the pole-goat is again taken away. One no longer has the soothsayer determine the day, but instead acts according to the circumstances. The Bon priest is again invited; he again makes the tormas and prays. Usually a sheep is sacrificed.

241 Interpretations: The pole-goat is supposed to banish
789 bad weather and protect the harvest. The custom occurs only
among farmers, even among the agricultural Fandse. The
● 776 goat has special protective power because its head serves as an
825 anvil for the god Dăntsien Sãṅ. He is the smith in the weather
821 ministry (5). During storms he hammers his iron between the horns,

[171] 5. [Foreign text pp. 829-830.]
The conception of the storm ministry bears a resemblance to the Chinese lei-pu (thunder division). It
is uncertain, however, whether
borrowings are involved. At any
rate, in the popular tradition of the
[791] Tujen the Bon priest has a special
connection with weather magic (cf.
also Tafel, Tibetreise). -- Concerning the storm-god Dăntsăṅ (Dăntsien
Saṅ) the informant knew nothing
other than that there is an image of

[828 cont.]

241
789
•776
825
821

[Note on foreign text pp. 829-830 cont.] him in the monastery Rgulōṅ and that he is a tutelary god of the Bon. Däntsien is evidently a Tujen corruption of the Tibetan dam-can, "keeping a vow" (cf. Ch̄. Das, p. 618). This is only a general title which could be applied to many gods. According to Grünwedel (Mythologie, pp. 187 ff.), Ch. Das (p. 618), and others, however, it refers to the Lamaistic terror-god rDo-rje-legs (pa), who rides on a goat (ram) and [830] was elevated to the tutelary lord (Dharmapāla) of the doctrine. H. Hoffmann denies that he is a Tantristic god and wants to designate him as an old Bon god, in which he is correct, as the ceremony described here indicates. He then continues (Quellen [Sources], p. 164): "There is an interesting statement by Jäschke, as yet unconfirmed, according to which Rdor-legs ... was an honorable village smith. ... At any rate it is noteworthy that Waddell also speaks of a 'demon blacksmith' [cited in English]." These surmises can now be confirmed by the ceremony of the pole-goat and the tradition connected with it. The dam-can is a smith-god of the Bon and stands in a special relationship to the weather conjuration and to the goat cult which, after all, likewise belongs to the realm of the Bon or is at least pre-Buddhistic. (Cf. the old name of Lhasa, which was originally called Ra-sa, Goat-place, and had a temple of the same name.)

[828 cont.]

241 during which lightning flashes and glowing hailstones fall to
789 earth. Through this the evil demons are killed, so no misfortune
befalls the seed and human beings (6).

821
[825] 6. [Foreign text p. 830.]
● [776] Weather magic plays an important
[171] role in all of Tsinghai. A pure Bon ceremony is involved here. Neither the Chinese nor the lamas practice it. And if it is correct that the nomads do not have it, this is an indication of the close connection of the Bon with agriculture. -- The Chinese engage in their weather magic through other shamans or through lay bonzes, exorcists, etc., never through a Bon priest. -- Only in very isolated instances does one find the pole-goat among the Chinese, and then it is along the border of the Tujen or Fandse region. I frequently saw one in a valley along the Pei-ch'uan river south of Hsin-t'ien-p'u, where there was a Chinese village; here they departed from the rule that it must be erected on a mountain.

[778] Other types of weather conjurations are undertaken with help of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, the spirit-litter, and with thunderbolts. All these things are the seat of deities. As soon as bad weather approaches, the corresponding bearers fetch these seats of the deities, summon the spirit, and station themselves out in the open facing the storm. Further details concerning these ceremonies in another place. The entire

[831]

241
782

3. The Mountain Sheep-offering*

* See "Notes," pp. 834-835 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

Report

After the erection of the pole-goat up to the time of the
[621] harvest a sheep is usually offered on a mountain top. This is
an occasion for the entire village. The people do this to ask
● [776] heaven, the mountain-spirit, and the spirits of the four regions
of the world to protect the seeds. The offering may be repeated
[264] frequently, but only one sheep is offered each time. The
sacrificial meat is eaten by the participants at the conclusion.

Details

241 Time: At the erection of the pole-goat the soothsayer
782 determines how frequently during the summer and on what day a
sheep is to be offered. He also indicates whether the spirits con-
787 cerned want to have this offering every year; sometimes it is
[791] only once, and sometimes several years in succession. If there
is no other occasion during this time, this soothsaying retains its
validity. After this period has elapsed the soothsaying is done
anew. -- If the village has erected a pole-goat, the offering
always takes place in the period after it has been erected. If
no pole-goat is present, then it may sometimes fall in the time
of the erection of the pole-goat.

Place: The offering always takes place on the same mountain on which the pole-goat stands, and in front of the latter. Otherwise the soothsayer determines the spot. It must be kept for the time when the offering is due. For instance,

[832 cont.]

241 The seed-master then cuts through the throat and arteries with
a powerful stroke, and the helpers catch the blood in the basin
782 with constant stirring. None of the blood is supposed to fall on
231 the ground. Any traces of blood are covered with earth. When the sheep has ceased bleeding, it is skinned. Sometimes the head remains attached to the hide, or it is cut off entirely with the hide, and placed to one side on the hide.

241 Now one usually takes a broad board, places the sheep on it, and eviscerates it. Excrement and unusable scraps are
782 put aside. The intestines are cleaned in warm water and filled
252 with blood and little bits of diced flesh from the scraps. The eviscerated body [833] is rinsed out with water and cut apart. The thighs are cut off, the loins and rib pieces are cut out, and everything is finally cut into little pieces so that it can be cooked more conveniently.

The cooking; In a kettle over a hole in the earth water is brought to a boil, in which the pieces of meat are cooked. Women may not help with the cooking. Spices, even salt, are prohibited for the sacrificial meat. The intestines filled with blood are also boiled.

During the cooking the men sit to one side, converse, pray their mani, or offer new incense. When the meat is done, it is taken out and cut into little slices on a board, including lungs, kidneys, liver, and heart. At the same time the ribs and other bones are broken. Now several bowlfuls are scooped from the broth in the kettle and some of the little pieces of meat are put in them. Then the soothsayer is called.

241 Soothsaying: The soothsayer invokes the spirit and indi-
782 cates in which direction the bowls must be emptied. He also determines how many bowls must be offered in each case. There
791 is always an offering to the sky and to the mountain-spirit,
787 and usually also to the world-spirits; only the number of bowls varies. If one wants to make an offering to still other spirits,
●[776] this is especially requested by the soothsayer. The soothsayer continues to officiate until the conclusion of the offering and with the spirit invoked supervises the performance.

[833 cont.]

241 782 [791] Offering: The seed-master takes the first bowl and throws its contents toward the sky in the direction indicated by the soothsayer. Then the other bowls for the mountain-spirit and the other spirits follow. At each offering throw, the men kowtow in the appropriate direction. No one may pick up the little pieces of meat or so much as eat them. Dogs are kept away, at least until the end of the offering.

[264] Meal: After this offering the meat is taken from the kettle and divided among the men. They sit in a circle, drink tea, eat bread, converse, and laugh. After the meal all go home. Everyone takes his things with him.

Meaning: The offering is made for the protection of the seeds (4).

241 782 174 •776 4. [Foreign text p. 834.] The meaning is no longer unambiguous now. The protection of the seeds is certainly involved, but whether the offering is primarily for the mountain-spirit or for the weather-spirits or for the sky is unclear. The mountain-height and the obo argue in favor of the mountain-spirit. The sky is always considered first, however. -- The old man said that in former times they had made the offering for the protection of the animals.

It is possible that originally a pure mountain-spirit or sky offering was involved, but that later, with agriculture, the weather-gods moved into the foreground, for hail and storms are feared primarily by farmers and not so much by shepherds.

[841 cont.]

778 Regardless of how the animal[1] lost its life, its flesh may never be
825 eaten.

Furthermore such animals may not be sold or given away,
[262] for they belong to the god. One may give it to a monastery
[432] where it is cared for and protected until its death. -- An animal
may not be acquired for the consecration with money; it must
always be given as a gift.

There is no special watch over the consecrated animals,
so that they can freely mount one another. The offspring are
[422] then counted as profane animals and fall to the original owner.

Whether the animal is pleasing to the god is manifested
[787] when the milk is poured over it. If it does not shake itself, one
immediately fetches another; the ceremonies are then repeated.
Every healthy animal shakes itself. If there is no milk, one
dissolves tsamba or white flour in pure water so that it looks like
milk. Some people take only clear water. This is not proper.

There are gods who ride the animals, for instance,
[776] Amtsiensa rides [842] on a wool-goat and Lamusa on a mule (3).

3. [Foreign text p. 843.] In the
monastery Rgulõñ each month
(on the first or fifteenth day) consecrated
riding animals are magnificently
saddled and led onto the
colonnade of the chief temple immediately
in front of the entrance.
There they are offered to the god
(Fo-yeh) for riding; then one lets them
[792] run. -- Perhaps it is worth mentioning
in this connection that the Tulkus
(incarnation) of the lamic monasteries
may ride only white horses, which otherwise
are not regarded as superior.

It could not be discovered which
[171] gods are the riding gods. The Amtsiensa
corresponds to the Chinese Tan-chiao
hao-hua, and the Lamusa to the Chinese
Lo-tzu t'ien-wang, that is, the
heavenly mule-king.

[1] [i.e - a consecrated animal - See cat. 116, pp 248-249- ANALYST]

[846 cont.]

789
184
171
[782]

2. [Foreign text p. 847.] There are similar spirit-releasings in many variations both among the Tujen and among the Chinese. The basic feature is the same everywhere: one releases the demon with many gifts so that it will not return. The ceremonial driving away of the mBarma demon in Kumbum is nothing other than such a releasing, only with a more complicated ritual and with the expenditure of enormous sums of money. The demon is represented there by his mother's brother, a selected man, while his image is burned together with the thread (mdos) towers. In the neighboring Huchu valley, for instance, in Kanchiapu, he is represented by the dough image and then is beaten to pieces by the children and eaten; in Tsungchai he is conjured into a kind of "town fortress" (tu-ch'eng) and this is burned; farther up in Kao-ch'iang-p'u he is put, with his belongings, on a little boat and allowed to float away.

789
792
[776]
[782]
[556]

Interpretation: The demon who disturbs the compound must be led away with all the gifts and conveniences imaginable so that he will not think back on his old location. The prayers of the lama and also the torma depend upon the demon. Regardless of whether it is a great or little exorcism, the effect is the same. Only the wealthy can afford large animals, and usually today it is only the lamic monasteries that undertake such an expensive ceremony.

[846 cont.]

789 776 688 If an evildoer steals the animal or the things,[1] the demon will punish him.

Word List

192 789 Demon escort: rĕdzõṅwa (Tib.?) ġarġani = one takes away that which is to be taken away.

[778] The demon-torma: dzuor (Tib.) (1) [see Note 1 above].

Saddlebag: dadzë (Chin. loanword).

Contents of the saddlebag: rdze (Tib. loanword) (possibly provisions).

[Pages 846-847 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes.]

[847]

000

3. The Figure-litter *

* See "Notes," pp. 849-850 [of the foreign text]. [In the translation these notes are given as numbered footnotes following the designations for them in the text.]

751 755

Report

789 791 [777] . . . In order to protect the children from misfortune, one invites in a Bon priest. He brings along a companion, and then they hold a seven-day prayer service. During this time they make all kinds of figures out of tsamba.

[778] [782] On the last day they place the figures on a paper litter and take them with two tormas to a river bank or a road crossing. There everything is burned. Through this one prevents the sickness-demon from returning.

---

[1] [i.e. - the animal and things used in the demon-escort ceremony - ANALYST.]

[857 cont.]

782 [Note on foreign text pp. 858-859 cont.]
792 comes from the fact that the urn is
[778] consecrated with certain conjuration
[192] formulas, sṅags (dha-rani), in other
words, represents a magic treasure.

[784] urn is buried by one or more lamas or by the master of the
[357] household, the compound is always taboo during this time.

782 [858] Place: The place at which the urn is buried must
always be chosen in such a way that no person or domestic
[778] animal can desecrate it. No one may run across such a place. For this reason roads and public places are avoided, for the place is, after all, not specially marked. Otherwise the urn may be buried anywhere, in the fields or in the pasture, in the yard or in the house. Indeed, one may even set it in yard and room walls and wall it up.

Significance: The contents of the urn are the treasures
and yield of the earth, everything that belongs in the realm
●[776] of the earth-god or of the mountain-spirit. One wants to please
these two spirits through these valuables so that they will hold
[777] down the evil earth-influences and protect human beings from misfortune. It is as though gifts were being given to persons in office (6).

782 6. [Foreign text pp. 859-860.]
778 According to this explanation, an
offering to the earth-god is involved. The interpretation, however, might not suffice. One must consider the urn in its wider context. It repeatedly occurs in Tujen usage, with the arrow of good fortune, with the round manger, in the obo, in the chorten chamber, and, to be sure, in twofold form: in the one case as the seat of a deity, which through the formula scroll,

[858 cont.]

782
778

[Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.] silk wrapping, etc. is transferred into the urn; in other cases without this deity, as, for instance, the urns accompanying the central urn in the chorten chamber and central fort, or, as in the preceding section, alone. In this case it is to be conceived as a representation of the earth with its vital and germinating forces and its treasures, as was shown above in the section on the arrow of good fortune. In the other case the earth-god takes his seat in his realm (urn). The urn is simply a part of the representation of the world-picture (mandala), as the realm of the earth-god.

776
782

[171]

What these earth deities are is unclear. In any case the ġlu (Tib. klu) or Nagas belong among them. In addition, however, another earth-deity is venerated among the Tujen, which perhaps is of Chinese origin, for like the Chinese they also have a pig offering in honor of the earth-god and certain ceremonies for pardon that are connected with a grain offering. They are performed especially in connection with digging, housebuilding, etc., or when someone suffers harm while digging. Unfortunately I was no longer able to record these ceremonies. It cannot be definitely determined whether this earth-spirit is male or female.

Another group to be considered is sman. A part of the filling is called ġlu-smăn (Tib. klu-sman); cf. the chapter above, "The Incense Offering," Note 11. According to H. Hoffmann,

[858 cont.]

776 [Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
782 *Quellen* (pp. 160 ff.), no clarification can be obtained concerning the *Sman*: "We can only conclude from the places at which they are mentioned, that earth-spirits or local spirits are involved." -- G. Tucci, *Tib. Painted Scrolls* (pp. 720 ff.), regards the *Sman* as the feminine counterparts of the gods and explains the connection between medicine and femininity in the following manner: "*sman* means either medicine or women. The connection between the two meanings is perhaps given by the implication that these *sman* were witches and that they were supposed to be possessed of the healing power with which, in shamanism, women are not rarely endowed" [cited in English]. And further below: "... but nothing prevents us from understanding *'lha* and their wives' ..." [cited in English]. -- Therefore in the case of the treasure urn we would be dealing with the *klu* and their feminine counterparts, the *sman*.

782 The burying of the treasure urn is often
171 equated by the Chinese with the burying
789 of other vessels. These are two different things, however. Chinese and Tujen often put tea bowls, vessels, and the like, with the opening [*860*] downward, into the ground in order to exorcise and hold down the demons. This custom, however, originates from shamanistic practices, such as the Taoists also have. Thus the shamans there throw tea bowls in the air or on the ground so that the demons will be capped (this is done when the bowl falls with the opening down),

[858 cont.]

782 [Note on foreign text pp. 859-860 cont.]
171 for instance, at the erection of the
789 weather fort, in the case of knife-climbing, disease exorcism, etc.

Word List

192
782 Earth-god: ġlu (glē).
[776] Earth-god urn: sēnoġ-der; sēnoġ (Tib.) = to meditate; der (Tib.) = urn, bottle.
[778] To buy an urn: sēnoġ-der bula; bula = to buy; but used only for the consecrated urn, otherwise "to buy" is called awu-.
Contents of the urn: rdzē (Tib.) (7).

7. [Foreign text p. 860.] Concerning rdzē, cf. section, "The Incense Offering," Note 4. These additions are for the greater part designated by the Chinese as yao (yüo) and are not to be thought of merely in the sense of medicine. Everything possible that has a special effect falls under yao: minerals, powder, spices, little pieces of shell, gold, and silver, and the filling of the treasure urn. Lamas from Kumbum and Bengbar told me that there are about 30 to 40 types of treasure urns with different fillings. One of the most valuable is the one that contains mani-ruru (little balls). These little balls multiply, they "cast young," as the people say, and fill up the entire urn; cf. section, "Customs concerning the Dead," Note 2. Ch. Das (p. 874) calls the urn additions bum rdsas: "twenty-five articles (comprising

[865 cont.]

782 776 Types of fire-pouring: There is a whole series of different fire-pourings, depending upon the deity concerned. Usually the fire-pouring is undertaken to honor the following deities: the horse-god, the cattle-god, the lion-god, and the water-faced Buddha.

[822] [866] Other types depend upon the color of the gods. Thus there is a red, yellow, white, and black fire-pouring. The tormas are also colored according to the colors of these gods, which they represent. Likewise, a special kind of wood is used for the 782 individual colors: for the red, tamarisk wood; for the yellow, [824] white thorn; for the white, poplar wood; and for the black, black thorn. The ceremonies are the same for the first three fire-pourings; only the prayers vary. -- The black fire-pouring in particular, however, deviates from the others (6).

782 184 6. [Foreign text p. 868.] Lamas report that there are many different types of fire-pourings, the four mentioned here being only the four main types, and that they have extensive books concerning the rites. -- The description of these orthodox Lamaistic rites would require a special study. In this connection, cf. Lessing, Yung Ho Kung (pp. 150-161). Only one of the many types practiced in the monastery is described there, and also only the phases "which can be easily observed by the inexperienced visitor" (p. 150) [cited in English]. Without going into a comparison with the above-described form, let it merely be pointed out here that the basic features are identical. Of the four main types characterized by Lessing, only the color agrees with the account given by my informant; he knew nothing

[866 cont.]

782 [792] The place for the black fire-pouring is usually a remote ravine. One pitches black tents and lives there several days with the lama in solitude. In no case may one undertake the black fire-pouring in the vicinity of temples or human habitations.

[731] [755] [777] In case of epidemics, the black fire-pouring is used preferably, in order to annoy the demons of sickness and thus to drive them away, for with them the misfortune, too, disappears.

[776] [792] [755] Meaning: The fire-pouring is an offering for the gods; through it they are supposed to be induced to turn away misfortune and sickness (7). The seven-day prayer of the lama is

---

782 372 7. [Foreign text pp. 868-869.] The whole gives very much the impression of a fire-offering. The informant, however, thought that it had nothing to do with it. According to him it was an offering to the appropriate [776] Buddhas. The fire-god was also venerated with it, as the torma proved, but this was not the main thing. Nevertheless there is no doubt but that a fire-offering, Homa, is involved (cf. Lessing, loc. cit.). The Tujen name alone cannot be interpreted other than as a corruption of the Tibetan sbyin-sreg. sbyin is pronounced jin, which is very clearly to be seen in Note 8 (źūin-tsēġ). Ch. Das, p. 940, writes under sbyin-sreg: "burnt offerings as made by Tantrik Buddhists, ... sbyin-sreg-gi [869] rdsas clarified butter, articles necessary for burnt sacrifices. ... sbyin-sreg-gi yam-šiṅ ... first wood necessary for the offering" [cited in English]. (For yam-šiṅ, cf. the Tujen foreign word yiew-siṅ.) "Homa is the

[866 cont.]

192 [Note on foreign text p. 870 cont.]
782 help, to save; otherwise called Tārā. --
[824] gusia: Tibetan ku ša (from the Sanskrit) =
●[776] botanical Poa cynosuroides. -- sāndõṅmani:
can be analyzed into the Tibetan words seṅ
(Sanskrit. siṃha) = lion, gdoṅ = face,
maṇi = jewel. It is a goddess. -- šda(m)tsēni:
can be analyzed into the Tibetan words rta =
horse, mgrin (pronounced din) = neck, also
voice; in other words: the horse-necked one,
or the horse-voiced one. -- logõṅ: Tibetan
klu (pronounced lu) = dragon, and gdoṅ =
face. Literally, therefore, dragon-face
(Unkrig).

[372] Fire-place: taw (Tib. loanword) = oven, hearth.

[778] Misfortune-torma: ġuaġ dor (Tib.).
ġuaġ = misfortune; prayer said during the preparation of this torma.

Earth-spirit torma: ġlū-šdorma.

Mountain-spirit torma: yifula-šdorma.

Fire-torma: ġal šdorma.

Earth-god spices: ġlu smān (Tib.).
dalān dierān sāmba smān = 74 pieces of spices.

[867]

[532] Measuring string: šdag paġdzin bōdoġ = pattern-drawing string.

Pattern: arasē xuar = leather model; tsialdzē xuar = paper model.

Burning-place drawing (mandala): tawni xuar.

[333] Wall: lāṅgãṅ (Chin. loanword).

Pouring tube: šge gãṅsār (Tib. loanword) = large spoon.

Ladling spoon for butter: mula gãṅsār = little spoon.

Spoon (profane): dzieġliu (Tujen).

[372] Cloth fan: ki yũelwa = air-cloth.
rlõṅ yāg (Tib.).

Cloth (profane): bosē.

[867 cont.]

192 Lighting pole: xuămbar.

782 Flint and steel: kidie.

[372] Fire struck with flint and steel: kidie ġal = flint-and-steel fire.

Ordinary fire: arañka ġal.

At the fire-pouring pouring there is no loss through bad weather:
dsuntsioġ surĕwa, dierdzia sdzũen uguei.

At the black fire-pouring pouring the demons flee: xara dzuntsioġ
surewa, mō iliesgē xuoluode pusa sdzia (sdzim).

[372] Firewood: taw siṅ (Tib.) = oven-wood.

Consecration-wood: yiew (ziew) -siñ (Tib.).

192 Tibet-herbs: dziañgoṅ (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].
tsang ts'ao (Chin.) = Tib. herb.

782 Tibet-flowers: kănba (Tib. loanword).

824 ta t'ou mao hsiang (Chin.).

White grass (from Tsinghai): ndoluwā (9) [see Note 9 above];
pai-ts'ao (Chin.).

Tibetan hard grass (reed): gusia (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].
tsang hsi-chi (Chin.).

Tamarisk?: guănbō (xuănbo); sōgā.

Poplar wood: mōdē = wood.

White thorn: siraldzin = yellow thorn.

Black thorn: xara rēguodzē.

192 Horse-god: šdamtsēni (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].
ma-wang (Chin.).

782 Cattle-god: ndigsier (Tib. loanword); niu-wang (Chin.).

776 Lion-god: săndoṅmani (Tib. loanword); shih-wang (Chin.)
(9) [see Note 9 above].

Water-faced Buddha: logon rēdziawu (Tib. loanword) (9) [see Note 9 above].
shuei-lien p'usa (Chin.).

[Pages 867-870 contain the notes given above as numbered footnotes. This section ends on p. 870 of Vol. 47, and the next section begins on p. 202 of Vol. 48.]

[203 cont.]

776

I. The Total Religious Picture

1. The Deities

a) The Higher Deities

The higher deities are to be understood as those figures that do not belong among the so-called *purġan*, but are mentioned separately from these by their own names. These are heaven (*tieṅġëre*), the mountain-spirit (*yifula*), and the earth-deity or earth-deities (*ġlu*; *itoġa*). They seem to be the older deities and will be dealt with later when the belief in a supreme god is discussed.

b) The Lower Deities

192
776

The lower deities can all be included under the generic name *purġan*. The word *purġan* is none other than the term customary in the literature, *Burchan* (*Burkhan*, *Burkan*), which, as is well known, stands for "god" in large parts of Central Asia. The origin of this name has not been clarified. Usually a connection with "Buddha" is assumed, and the word is derived from the compound *Bud(dah)-Khan*; see W. Schmidt, *UdG*, X, p. 573, with reference to the sources. This passage, which deals with the Tungus, emphasizes that there *Burkan* predominately refers to foreign deities, a situation that is quite close to that found among the Tujen. Another explanation connects the word with the Buddhistic grave-monument (oral communication from W. A. Unkrig), namely, *purġan* supposedly arose from the Mongolic *suburġan*. The word *suburġan* in turn is derived from the Tibetan *spur-k'aṅ*, house of corpses, cremation place. Since consonant clusters are avoided in Mongolic, a *u* was inserted between the *s* and the *p* for easier pronunciation, just as also happens in the case of other word derivations. Thus from *spur*, through the transformation of the *p* (which the Mongols do not have) to *b*, the word *subur* arose. The *ṅ* in *k'aṅ* is slurred into a simple *n*.

192
778
776

With *suburġan* (*spur-k'aṅ*) one designated the same thing as with the Tibetan *mc'od-rten*, chorten or stupa, which literally

[203 cont.]
192 means "offering container." The chortens now usually shelter
778 the ashes of Buddhist saints or their relics and frequently also
bear their pictures on the front side. Thus the meaning of an
● 776 idol is connected with the whole. The chortens or stupas or
suburgans are therefore the seat of a spirit or of a deceased person.
A deity is present in them. They are the same as [204]
what the Mongols or Tujen imagine under the expression purġan.
This conception is confirmed, furthermore, by the urn shape of
the stupa. In Tibetan the lower part is called bum-ba, urn, pot.
As has already been shown in the case of the earth-god urn and the
beṅkaṅ, urns are frequently the seat of a deity. This conception
is also found elsewhere, and one might also connect the urn with
the throne of the gods, which will not be discussed here. In any
case, the Tujen word purġan is late and Buddhistic in origin.

776 All the inhabitants of the Buddhist, Bonist, and Taoist
pantheon fall within the group of these lower gods insofar as the
Tujen have taken it over. A special position seems to be
776 occupied by the fire-spirit as hearth-god or god of the shaman
372 fire, whom Schram so strongly emphasizes in his book concerning
marriage among the Tujen. I could no longer confirm any
special veneration of the shaman fire, however. If one disregards
the fire offering, which is included as part of the rite of
the Lamaistic fire-pouring, there remains to the people only the
hearth-god, who, however, is venerated no more frequently than
among the Chinese, for example. The use of fire for purifica-
[783] tion (widow marriage, leaping over fire, fumigation, red-hot
stone, etc.) seems to have nothing to do with a god. It can be
explained purely magically, because the demons fear the fire.
They are, of course, always regarded as unclean, as the common
phrase, pudaġ ilie, dirty demon, proves.

776 Of the other gods who deserve special mention, there
are the shaman and soothsaying gods, who animate or temporarily
[791] take possession of the spirit-spear, the spirit-table, and the
[787] divine images, for instance, the black and white tiger, the
great mother, the dragon. Furthermore, an important role is
[177] played by the god of joy (at a wedding), who probably comes
from the Chinese, the horse- and cattle-king, the world-directions
spirits, and the gods of the weather ministry with the smith-god

[204 cont.]
776 of the Bon, the Däntsien-Sang, who hammers his iron on the
buck's head so that there is lightning and thunder (cf. "The Pole-goat," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 823 ff.) [pp. 218 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

The remaining Lamaistic gods do not have the importance
among the people that might be expected. They know of
796 Maitreya, whose image is displayed and venerated on the sixth
535 day in the sixth month after the temple dances in the yard of
Êrh-ku-lung; furthermore, Tsongkhapa, the founder of the Yellow
Church, in Chinese called pao-pei-fo-yeh, Precious-Stone Buddha,
791 and the soothsaying god Pekar, whom the people simply call
sgurdien (gurtum), and who often is set up life-sized with full
788 warrior equipment in the temple on pilgrimage days. This
756 Lamaistic oracle-god, however, is venerated less by the people
than by the true shamans. -- No identification of Buddha with
the highest being (heaven) is to be observed among the people.
Nothing higher than heaven is known. Cf. below (pp. 348 ff.).

c) The Demons

Aside from the countless spirits, the uluon purgan, the
world is further populated by countless demons, the so-called
753 ilie. They harm human beings through disease, misfortune,
777 failure of crops, and bad weather. Especially feared is [205] the
731 plague-god Barma, Chinese wen-shen, epidemic-god, at whom
the black fire-pouring is directed. The storm demons are com-
782 bated by the spirits of the weather ministry. They fear above all
the red-hot projectiles that rain down to earth from the anvil of the
Däntsien-Sang and kill them.

The Lamaistic terror-gods, among whom the mother of the gods, Lha-mo, is best known to the people, are not regarded as demons. Their main task is not to torment human beings, but to protect the true Lamaistic doctrine from its enemies.

774

2. The soul- and world-picture

a) Conception of the Soul

[207 cont.]

775 the Tujen. For instance, one hears little about a Buddhist hell,
171 which plays a much more important role among the neighboring
Chinese and is quite graphically portrayed in many temples. It
is true that the Tujen like to consider the misfortune in this
world as punishment for earlier transgressions. This soul, which
775 one could call "incarnation soul" or "private soul" -- in contrast
764 to the clan soul -- becomes free for the incarnation through
the transforming lotus fire at the cremation. The informant, at
any rate, interpreted the lotus-mandala and the fire at the cremation
in this sense and ascribed to them a transforming power.
This does not mean that this soul remains in the body as long
as, say, in an animated corpse. Rather, at the death of the
person, the lamas are supposed "to open the way" through prayer,
so that the soul may reach Tushita. To what extent such explanations
[171] correspond with the orthodox Buddhist doctrine will be left
undecided. Any any rate, the conceptions of the people are
vague.

775 Even more unclear are the conceptions about the third
776 soul, which is supposed to transform itself into a demon. Nothing
is known about its fate and about the cause of such a transformation.
Such a soul is feared, however. Perhaps it is this
soul that in case of dissatisfaction after the bäda disturbs the
[764] human beings at the command of the clan soul, haunts the
[782] house and yard, and causes sickness and misfortune. At any
rate, a great part of the offerings and prayers at the death rites
is given out of fear of this soul. The constantly expressed wish
to the dead person runs: "Forget us, be content, do not come
775 back." A natural discontent and a kind of missing of life's goal
776 are connected with the soul of unmarried adult girls. It becomes
589 a demon who is so dangerous that even other demons flee
from it, for which reason the Bon priests take the material for
[765] their bone flutes, their whip, etc. from the corpses of such girls.
The discontent and non-fulfillment can only be accounted for
in this case by the unmarried state, which, according to Tujen
conceptions, goes against every natural ordinance for a female
[588] person. One may suspect that this soul-belief also has a strong
effect on the custom that the Tujen call "to arrange the heavenly

[207 cont.]
775 hairdress," through which a girl is wedded to heaven and is no
776 longer burdened with the contempt suffered by unmarried women
[589] (see above). The fear of the female demon-souls [208] is also
[588] widespread among the Chinese, and there is only one way of
being safe from them: the cremation. In the customs of the
[171] Tsinghai Chinese, this fear and contempt have their basis in
the Buddhist conception that a woman is an unclean being and
that this uncleanness is only removed through the man and his
descendants. This attitude is strengthened through the fervent
desire for sons and grandsons, which again is connected with the
ancestor cult. These Buddhistic motives are certainly also
decisive in part among the Tujen. Among them, too, the
[562] woman is regarded as unclean, even if not so harshly as among
[783] the Chinese. The veneration of the ancestors plays scarcely
any role. Nonetheless, uncleanness and demonism are closely
connected. A very common expression runs: *pudaǧ ilie*, un-
[841] clean demon; a woman is also *pudaǧ* during her period.

The demon soul therefore seems to stand in a special relationship with the female principle. This suggests the surmise that it represents the flesh-(body)-soul in the human being, which stands in contrast to the bone-soul. In northeastern Tibet and elsewhere one encounters the conception that the bones of a person come from the man and the flesh from the woman. Among the Tujen, however, this relationship is difficult to determine
[614] because it is precisely the bone-soul that is related so closely
to the mother's clan. This does not, it is true, exclude an individual assignment to the man (father), but it does not permit it to make its appearance through this unquestionably matriarchal trait.

775 From everything, one can see that the Tujen are little concerned about the after-life of the soul and the beyond. To them it is enough if they are left in peace on earth. The Buddhist conceptions are more theoretical. In actuality one not infrequently encounters a this-worldly fatalism which expresses itself in the saying: "Our life does not have much meaning"
[171] (literally: we have lived in vain). Even if the conception of the
[769] soul has much similarity to that of the Chinese, the Tujen

[211 cont.]

772 the many riddle-songs of the Tujen, when they sing of the tree,
[533] which bears the sun, moon, and stars in its crown; cf., for example, Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder," *loc. cit.*, Song I and II.
[171] Further connections will be passed over here. Only the great similarity of these songs to the wedding songs of western Tibet will be mentioned; see Francke, *Tibetische Hochzeitslieder* [Tibetan Wedding Songs].

772 779 With this harmonious conception of the world and its close connection with human beings, one would also expect a projection of the macrocosm into the microcosm. In Lamaism, of course, these correspondences are carried through to the smallest detail and find their symbolic representation in the well-known syllable-monogram, the *rnam bču dbaṅ idan*; in this connection, cf. Filchner (Unkrig), *Kumbum*, pp. 160 f. These minute correspondences of the Lamaist monks, however, are too artificial for the people. They know nothing about them. Security in the great cosmos in which they literally build suffices for them. This world-feeling does not enter into sophisticated speculations.

[212]

3. The Religious Cult

a) The Basic Psychic Attitude

771 776 The inner attitude of the people toward the good spirits is the consciousness of dependence upon them. They determine the well-being in this world, which, after all, is the focal point of thought, for one does not think much about the beyond. Hence the first thing a person does when misfortune or an unusual situation surprises him is to turn to a spirit, a mightier being, which can help here. How much this attitude dominates the common man is apparent from the above-mentioned basic thoughts of the informant, which provided the articulation of all the customs: "... now I shall tell you first what we do for the good fortune of the family, etc."; cf. "Introduction," *Anthropos*, 47, 1952, p. 15 [p. 16 above in the HRAF translation]. Everything is thereby subordinated to the religious

[212 cont.]

771 utilitarian idea. The Tujen give their offerings and prayers in
● 776 order to make the spirit world favorably inclined toward them
for the purpose of earthly well-being. They are not so submis-
[782] sive to the harmful demons, however, but instead face them
[789] with greater hostility and try to vanquish them with the help
of the good spirits or through magic.

b) The Offering

The Types of Offering

782 The Tujen distinguish the following types according to
what is offered: the incense offering, food and drink offering,
slaughtered offering, animal-consecration. -- Aside from the
incense offering and the animal-consecration, they have a
[192] common name for the offering, namely, *šeṅlie*, which corre-
sponds to the Chinese *hsien*. Thus, they say, for instance,
šdimie šeṅlie-, to offer bread; *tsidzig šeṅlie-*, to offer flowers;
xonini šeṅlie-, to offer a sheep (cf. DMF 376). This expression
šeṅlie may not be used for anything else.

The incense offering, which originally was an aromatic
offering, has now been greatly extended by all kinds of addi-
tions, such as butter, tsamba, flowers, spices, silk threads.
Here, too, however, the rule against giving anything that
smells unpleasant is maintained. The use of butter and
[174] tsamba, which are the staple foods of the nomads there, im-
plies an old pastoral custom. Concerning the original incense
offering, cf. the chapter further below, "The Belief in a
Supreme God."

The food offering principally includes bread, wine,
butter, tsamba. One puts them down before the spirit, for
instance, before the household altar, the obo, the *mani*-tree,
the god's image, etc. When they are taken away and con-
sumed, some is thrown to the deity concerned. Liquids are
poured on the ground or squirted into the air. The custom of
[264] throwing something to the spirits before each meal belongs
here, too.

[213 cont.]

782 The pig offering proceeds like the sheep offering, however little appropriate the procedure is for this animal. -- The hen offering is done without much ceremony. The animal's head is cut or twisted off, the hen is swung around in a circle so that the blood squirts around, and then it is allowed to fly. I do not know whether the hen is consumed later. It certainly did not happen in several cases observed.

779 782 The animal-consecration is already unequivocally an offering in that the animal is given up by human beings as a voluntary gift to a god and normally may not be used any more.

I could confirm nothing about a human consecration, which Mostaert (DMF, p. 371 under šdien) mentions, unless the shaman consecration is meant, or the recommendation of a child to a tutelary spirit whose name it later bears. In any event the vow [831] of virginity could be regarded as an offering to heaven, as a sign [302] of which a girl lets her hair fall down freely; cf. DMF, p. 103. One can also include its counterpart, namely, the marriage of a [588] girl with heaven, whose sign is the "heavenly hairdo"; cf. Schram, Mariage, pp. 127 ff.

[214] Recipients of the Offering

782 776 To what extent heaven has a share in all offerings and what offerings are reserved for it will be discussed below. The pig is inadmissible as an offering for the higher deities (except for the earth), and the hen likewise. They are the sacrificial animals for lower gods and demons.

Whether there is an actual offering to the demons is questionable. In the case of the ceremonies dealing with the evil spirits, for instance, the demon-escort, the figure-litter, the various tormas, etc., one regards the accompanying gifts, designated as rdzē, as things that the demon needs or likes, for example, the riding animal, the clothes, the money, the wool, etc. Furthermore, aside from the intent to appease and to satisfy, there is also a certain contempt for the demon connected with these gifts, in that raw flesh, leeks, beans, and unclean intestines are offered to it, as though to a wild bestial creature.

[214 cont.]

782 This is intended to make him satisfied so that he will go away
776 and not return. Any feeling of awe and submissiveness, such
● as is characteristic towards a higher spirit and is manifested in the offering, is lacking. A similar notion of fear plays a contributing role here, which one also entertains for the souls of the dead, of whom it is expected that they will not molest human beings and will be content.

The Executers of the Offering

782 All these offerings can be assigned primarily to the
771 people as chief bearers. It is the most important religious activity of the ordinary people. It presupposes little, namely, a gift and an attitude. It requires no special schooling, no involved ritual, and no learning of prayers. The offerers are the family head, the seed-master, or the village elders. It is precisely these laymen themselves who at the purely Lamaistic ceremonies or those of the Bon and shamans perform the actual offering operation, for example, at the harvest thanksgiving festival and at the erection of the pole-goat or the central fort. Even the tormas, which, of course, can in part be regarded as offerings, are usually set up or carried outside by men from among the people.

c) The Prayer

782 The spontaneous and freely-formulated prayer is a natural matter-of-course among the Tujen. They are also conscious of this form of prayer when they maintain: "We farmers have forgotten our old prayers; everyone prays with his own words." (Cf. Schröder: "Herbst-Dankopfer [Harvest Thank-offering]," Anthropos, 37-40, 1942-1945, p. 872.)

782 Besides these spontaneous utterances they also still know
788 simple, brief prayer formulas to heaven and the gods, as when they say, "Oh you spirits, do not be like human beings!" or when they uninterruptedly recite on their prayer-string "Om

[217 cont.]

771 776 The belief in a supreme god among the Tujen must have been known to the people themselves at an early date. Tafel noted in his fairly reliable chapter: "The Turen [sic] of Wei-yüanpu are a very curious tribe. Many say that they have only one single god in which they believe. But they are, like the [218] Chinese, also Buddhists" (Tibetreise [Tibet Journey], I, p. 246). The author unfortunately does not tell who these "many" are. Probably they are the Tujen themselves. Tafel is right insofar as a true monotheism is unknown to the Tujen. On the other hand they do not share the same Buddhism with the Chinese. The Tujen are Lamaists, the Chinese, on the other hand, never or only as an exception. From the customs observed, it now appears incontestably that the so-called one god [821] of the Tujen is a supreme god who is venerated in the form of the heavens. One must, therefore, start from "heaven."

a) The Name "Heaven"

rĕġuo

772 776 192 [821] For "heaven" the Tujen know two expressions, namely, rĕġuo and tieṅgëre. The word rĕġuo is little used and then only in the sense of the physical sky, firmament. It agrees entirely with its Mongolic equivalent oktarġui, which is to be equated with the Tibetan mk'a or nam mk'a or gnam, and means: sky, empty space above the air, firmament, vault of the heavens, ether, atmosphere, air. Cf. Kovalevski, p. 430. Even among the following expressions that include oktarġui, there is none in which oktarġui is comprehended as a deity or spirit. Cf. op. cit., pp. 430-433. Thus it must be sharply distinguished from tengri (tieṅgëre) and cannot be used synonymously with the latter. Only in the sense of the physical sky do they overlap. Among the Tujen, rĕġuo is chiefly regarded as light-sky, bearer of brightness. One therefore likes to add the adjective kuġuo (blue, light, bright), for instance, kuġuo rĕġuo undurwa (the blue sky is high). The kuġuo rĕġuo (light sky) stands in contrast to the [825] [539] xara gadzier (dark earth). An appropriate bird is assigned to

[218 cont.]

772 each of them as a symbol of brightness and of darkness. Thus,
776 in a wedding song it is said: xara gadzier mundzini xẹla; kuğuo
rëğuoni dzindzini xẹla (the black earth's dark bird calls; the
192 light sky's light bird answers). Here, it is true, the rëğuo has
[825] been drawn into the -- probably Tibetan -- mythology of light
[539] and darkness, but nothing concerning a possible significance of
the rëğuo as spirit or deity is expressed by it. (Cf. Schröder, "Hochzeitslieder.") Even if the expression rëğuo in its meaning as light-bearer corresponds approximately to the word tieṅgëre, its deeper meaning is thereby exhausted and it will not be considered further.

tieṅgëre

772 tieṅgëre is the Tujen form of the written Mongolic
776 tengri or tngri. It may signify both the natural sky as well as
heaven as a deity. As natural sky it is provided with the same
192 adjectives as the word rëğuo, in other words, with kuğuo (blue),
821 undur (high), etc. Like the latter, it also, as the daylight sky, stands in contrast to the dark earth. Our expression "heaven and earth" is always rendered among the Tujen by kuğuo tieṅgëre, xara gadzier (light sky, dark earth). They would never [219] simply say "heaven and earth." In this conception, the Tujen go hand in hand with their Altaic-Mongolic relatives. In his dissertation, Pallisen has presented the connection of light and heaven especially clearly: Among all Altaic peoples the sky is primarily perceived as the daylight sky. According to H. Vambéry and Barbier dé Maynard, the concepts "the light," "brightness" in all Altaic languages belong to the same word family as tengri (Religion der Altmongolen [Religion of the Ancient Mongols], p. 123). Pallisen then appends the word lists for 13 languages, which are intended to illustrate this connection (op. cit., pp. 123 ff.).

The sky, however, is regarded not only as the embodiment of light, but it is also the bearer of the most important cosmic phenomena. This is expressed in many everyday phrases, for example: the sky rains; the sky is cold; the sky is hot; the sky thunders; the sky is cheerful, etc. Hence,

[219 cont.]

772 the heavens, even purely sensibly, stand in the consciousness of
776 the Tujen as something important, exalted, as that immeasurable
space of light embracing the world, in which the natural events
192 that so impress the simple human being take place. It is not the
821 word *rēguo* that arouses this consciousness in them, but the word
tieṅgëre. Evidently, it is one of the oldest words that they,
along with the other Altaic peoples, among whom it is charged with
the same content, have inherited from hoary prehistory. It cannot be further analyzed etymologically.

For this reason, this very expression is excellently suitable
772 for designating what we call "God." Where the Tujen, who are,
776 after all, a branch of the Mongols, acquired the link between
192 the name *tieṅgëre* and the concept "God" is not to be dealt with
here. That belongs in the history of the religion of the Mongols or
174 of the Altaic peoples generally. Father W. Schmidt has made it
seem probable that it is not a matter of equating the highest being with the material heaven, but only of a transference of the name "heaven" to the supreme god; this must have happened at the time of the transition to herding in the great steppes where "they have before them the huge dome of the heavens unobscured in its entire extent and with all natural phenomena taking place in the sky"; cf. Schmidt, *Religionsgeschichte* [History of Religion], p. 256, *UdG*, X, pp. 128 ff. The question arises here: Does this also apply to the Tujen and in what way? How is the name *tieṅgëre* used, as a generic or proper name? Does it actually signify God?

One must first of all go back to the general Mongolic conceptions, which, to be sure, know the same name. Pallisen in this connection comes to the following conclusion (*op. cit.*, p. 126): "One can therefore say that in this stage of development *Tengri* meant something like 'God Heaven' as a proper name, not 'heaven god' and not 'god in heaven' or 'god of heaven,' as some researchers maintain.... Gradually, however, *Tengri* was used to designate the God of the Christians and of the Mohammedans, and finally, with the adoption of Buddhism, this word became equivalent to the Sanskritic *Deva*, and numerous deities of the Lamaistic pantheon, which in part were taken into it from the old folk-belief, were [220] then also called

[220 cont.]

772 *Tengri*, with the addition of a definite proper name (especially
776 the 33 *tengri*: *ghutschin ghurban Tengri*)." "In other words, for
776 the interpreters and for the numerous strangers generally who
192 stayed at the court of the great Khan and among whom many
174 priests of all religions were also represented, the significance of
Tengri as a generic name for 'god' was already familiar and clear" (*op. cit.*, p. 127). -- Later, according to Pallisen, along with Buddhism there came the term *burxan*, which is supposed to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word for Buddha and among the Mongols is supposed to have taken on the meaning of "idol, deity, spirit, god's image." (Concerning the origin of the word *Burchan* or *purġan*, cf. above.)

Among the Tujen this development is difficult to determine. I have often asked people how many *tieṅgëre* there are. I always received the answer; only one. Only once did my informant observe that there were also other gods called *tieṅgëre*. When he was then to name these gods, he did not know a single one. This is a sign of how secondary the significance of *tieṅgëre* as a generic name must have been among the Tujen, since it could disappear from linguistic usage so completely without a trace, if it was ever present. Perhaps the above-mentioned observation of A. Tafel concerning a "single god" is to be traced back to a similar piece of information. The *tieṅgëre* of the Tujen, in other words, does not entirely correspond with the *tengri* of the Mongols. Only the word *purġan*, which corresponds to the Mongolic *burxan*, has taken over the function of a generic name; *purġan* signifies not only the native gods, spirits, gods' images, but generally all the deities of the various religions. At times it may also designate a demon. It is used in a way similar to the Chinese *fo-yeh*, though to be sure never for a Tulku. The conception of a plurality, which, of course, is essential for a generic concept, is always connected with the word *purġan*.

772 According to all the information and on the basis of the
776 customs recorded, *tieṅgëre* alone is reserved as the proper name
192 of the god-heaven. The bilingual Tujen generally translate it
with the Chinese *t'ien* (heaven) or *lao-t'ien* (old heaven) or

[220 cont.]

772 t'ien-yeh (father "heaven"). The fact that this tieṅgĕre applies
776 exclusively to the heavenly being appears with special clarity
in the constantly used formula: šge tieṅgĕre, uluon purġan (the
192 great heaven, the many spirits). Quite consciously here uniqueness is placed over against multiplicity and at the same time it is expressed that heaven possesses at least as much honor as the purġan, in other words, is also a deity, or can be a higher spiritual being. What the content of this god-concept is now, whether it is really a heaven as supreme god, is to be made clear in the following, and, to be sure, first of all in connection with the heaven cult of the people.

776

b) The Heaven Cult

782 After all that has been said up to now, it is established beyond doubt that the Tujen venerate the heavens. It can also be confirmed further from the popular literature, as will become clear below. Thus [221] here it is only a question of the what and how of the veneration of heaven (offering, prayer), insofar as it is appropriate to provide information concerning the god-concept and the conceptions linked with it, as well as the age and the position of the belief in a supreme god.

1) The Offering

782 As regards the form, the executers, and the sentiment of the offering, what is said generally about the offering applies. Here in first place the question arises: Are there offerings that in a special way are intended for heaven or that have a special relationship to it? This is quite generally the case with every offering insofar as it can be conceived as a primitial offering. In addition there are also other offerings which -- at least originally -- were reserved for heaven, among which the incense offering and sheep offering are the most important.

The Primitial Offering

[192] The Tujen do not know a special generic name for the primitial offering. They say, depending on the circumstances:

782 539 [223 cont.]

beings are described: "One clothed oneself in tree leaves. One ate tree fruit. One lay on flower leaves. When one was thirsty, he drank water. At daybreak one burned great incense (šdeliedzi šge fdzaṅ ġarġani)." In Verses 38-42 it is related how the first emperor burns incense in order to perform a heavy task: "When he was supposed to churn together the earth on the immense spring water, this was terribly difficult. And burning a great incense offering, he implored the light heavens (šge fdzaṅni ġarġadzi ku̇guo tieṅgĕrni yaṅdziladzia)." Verses 158-167 describe another incense offering of the first emperor. He gathers [824] flowers (kănba flowers = Artemisia species) on the shady side of the mountain, juniper twigs on the sunny side, scoops pure water from the river, and then it is said: "Climbing onto the high mountain he burned great incense, implored the heavens, implored the countless spirits... (undur ġadadu ġaridzi šge fdzaṅni ġarġaya, šge tieṅgërni yaṅdzilaya, uluon purġani yaṅdzilaya...)." The offering in this case is also presented to other spirits, but heaven is in first place. This is also emphasized by the fact that it takes place on a mountain. None of the purġan is mentioned by name. The daily incense offering is mentioned in Verses 190-193: "Daily burning incense, he lived (sc. the first emperor). From below rose the great incense, and the smoke of the incense pushed open the gate of heaven; and the exalted [776] Sdeṅlatsien-saṅ (= the highest heaven lord) looked down." (Udurdu fdzaṅ ġarġadzi sōdzamba. dōrōdza šge fdzaṅni ġarġano, fdzaṅni funini tieṅgërni udieni baġa niedzia. Sdeṅlatsien-saṅ dorodzi nōdzia.) The relationship of the incense to heaven is unambiguous here. (For further details concerning the Šdeṅlatsien-san, cf. below.) The passage concerning the heavenly wanderings of the first emperor, Verses 1221-1222, runs similarly: "Then on his wanderings he came before the great gate of heaven, and the smoke of the great incense pushed open the gate of heaven." (Di yōdzi tieṅgĕrni šge udie tada kurdzia. šge fdzaṅni funini tieṅgĕrni udieni baġa niedzia.) On earth, namely, one burns incense during this time so that the undertaking of the journey to implore a ruler from heaven will succeed.

[224 cont.]

782 174 striking [225] that the agriculture myth does not mention the incense offering. The conditions of the environment -- mountain pasture, forest, wild flowers, etc. -- do not fit in with agriculture (7). -- Here it may be asked whether the incense offering is older than the primitial offering. In common with the latter it is mentioned in the legends before all other offerings. The first emperor already knows both offerings; the wedding song and the hunting song mention the incense offering, the agriculture myth only the primitial offering. The relationship of the two offerings to each other cannot be determined. 3. The incense 782 offering is always given either to heaven alone or to it in the first place. It is a true heaven-offering. It is only rarely directed to the other spirits, which, according to their collective [776] name, are called purġan and therefore are only of later Buddhist origin. [823] Mountain heights seem to have been preferred in order to be closer to heaven. Even today this is still done. The Tujen are aware of this and give as the reason that it is

---

[824] [773] 7. The ancient nature of the incense offering is to be explained in the final analysis by the ancient nature of the juniper tree, which as world- and life-tree stands at the beginning of time; cf. J.F.Rock, Muan Bpō, pp. 18, 20, 21, 132, 143. Since it is the first tree of the world, even the first emperor (Geser legend) could burn only these twigs in honor of heaven. The incense offering therefore belongs in the world of the religious archetypes which became standard for the later human beings, just as the archetypes of the first human being, of the world-mountain and the tree of life, of heaven and earth, of the first obo, etc. extend back into that legendary period.

[227 cont.]
782 mudie is already known from the early period of the Mongols, and
788 it attests to what an ancient heritage the veneration of heaven is
[174] among the Mongolic basic stock of the Tujen. There is usually a three-fold kowtow also connected with the prayer, whereby the person also wishes to indicate purely outwardly in a formal ceremony his submissiveness before the god-heaven.

c) The Nature and Characteristics of Heaven

Uniqueness

772 The discussion of the name has already indicated that the
776 designation tieṅgëre is reserved for heaven alone. It does not share this name as a title with any other deity, even, say, by adding a proper name of a certain deity to it. This unique position of heaven becomes even clearer when one considers it in relation to the other deities.

776 The position with respect to the gods in general. -- The offering, the many texts from the songs, and the other customs everywhere acknowledge heaven as the first. This is acknowledged briefly and concisely in the constantly recurring expression šge tieṅgëre, uluon purǧan (the great heaven, the countless spirits). Heaven is the great one. It is especially set apart from the many other spirits. As the first it has a share in all offerings, for it -- before all other gods -- the first kowtow is made, the first dedication of the day. The Tujen express this: What would the gods be without heaven, he is their lord"; cf. "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873. -- Heaven also has this position of pre-eminence over those deities who it might seem share the honor with him, for which reason they are to be mentioned briefly in the following.

773 The position with respect to the heaven-emperor of the
776 Geser legend. -- The Geser legend mentions three lords of heaven, among whom Šdeṅglatsien Saṅ is the highest. He lives with them in the immeasurable space of heaven, likewise

[227 cont.]

773
776
called tieṅgëre here as the dwelling place of the gods. He has a spouse, sons and daughters, a magnificent residence, a splendid army. In short, the emperor of heaven and his realm are pictured in detail according to human conceptions of earthly khans. At the request of the earthly emperor his son is reborn in this world in order to free them from the evildoers. This is Geser Khan.

Next to this figure, however, there continues to exist the formless old tieṅgëre, [228] as the above-mentioned citations from the Geser legend show. He is venerated through incense offerings, and one prays to him. Here is an old conception that has been taken into the legend. The legend itself is not of Mongolic origin, but perhaps belongs in the world of the Bon with their Tibetan homeland. Despite its repudiation by the Buddhists, it was embellished with many Buddhist additions, and the lamas play a certain role in it. Now, however, every people that claims the legend as its own, including the Tujen, has further incorporated its own material in it and wants to see in it in some way or another the foundation of its old popular customs. Therefore even if the figure of the heaven-emperor is accepted, the old tieṅgëre nonetheless remains alive in the consciousness of the people and also makes his entry into the Geser legend; indeed, he continues to exist as the supreme deity in rank, regardless of whether this can be harmoniously reconciled with the other heavenly figure or not. The attitude of the people can best be rendered by the passage already cited above and given here in more detail, Verses 158 ff.: "Climbing onto the high mountain, he burned great incense, implored heaven (tieṅgëre), implored the countless spirits (purġan), implored Šdeṅlatsien Saṅ, implored Warintsien Saṅ, implored Sëma Lortsien Saṅ." In other words, heaven comes first, and only after the other gods the three rulers of heaven. The preeminent position of heaven cannot be more clearly expressed. It also clearly shows, however, how here two views still not blended together go along side by side and how little the people trouble themselves about inner coherence, but cling to what they have. The tieṅgëre is the most important deity to

[228 cont.]
776 the people, and they do not want to be without it in the legend.
[773] The Šdenlatsien Sañ has no significance in the customs.

The position with respect to the mountain-spirit and the earth-god. -- In the chapter concerning the obo, the incense offering, and in other places mention was made of a tripartition of the deities, namely, in the sequence: heaven, mountain-spirit and earth-god, countless gods. Since the mountain-spirit and earth-god are not included under the Buddhistic concept purğan, a pre-Buddhistic age is automatically suggested. In addition, the mountain-spirit has tasks that one could ascribe to heaven. What is the relationship to it?

776 The Tujen call the mountain-spirit yifula. A Tibetan
551 equivalent would be the word already mentioned earlier, ri-bo
192 lha (mountain-spirit). The informant, who himself bore this
name, translated it, however, with the Chinese Shan-shen pao (mountain-spirit protection). (Concerning the name-giving, cf. above, "The Conclusion of the Confinement.") This leads, however, to a Mongolic analysis of the word. According to W.A. Unkrig, this is found in the combination: ibel (protection) and ula (mountain); cf. Koval., p. 282. The interpretation corresponds to the Chinese translation. Yifula thus would be appropriately rendered with "protector of the mountains."
776 Without settling the origin of the name, it can nevertheless be
171 maintained that the cult of the mountain-spirit in the obo
festival is a Mongolic peculiarity from ancient times that is repeatedly reported in the literature. Among the Tujen, too -- as among the neighboring Tangut -- the obo festival occupied an important position; cf. "The Obo," Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation].

776 [229] The mountain-spirit is not a terror-god, but a
mild, providing father, the lord of the animals, who watches over the welfare of the herds, who cares for plants and trees, and who is concerned about the increase of human beings. He is the guardian of the ayil (village, tribe) and guards its weapons. The people gather around him for playing and dancing,
[171] prayer and offering. Although the mountain-spirit is thus

[229.cont.]

776 concerned about the well-being of the people, it is striking that
171 he is not linked with the protection of seed and harvest. Other-
wise, however, his tasks correspond to those of heaven, even if
he is primarily a nature god who shares his character with the
lord of the animals and forests of many Siberian peoples.

776 Nonetheless there is a difference between him and
heaven. First of all heaven is given precedence, even in con-
nection with all offerings to the mountain-spirit, for instance,
the obo offering. Whereas the mountain-spirit has a fixed
residence in the obo, his fort, and therefore is tied to the place,
heaven retains its freedom with regard to locality. The moun-
[553] tain-spirit can also be a tutelary spirit of the human beings who
are named after him; as assisting spirit he may enter into the
[756] shaman and take possession of him in the trance. This is alto-
[787] gether out of the question for heaven. People are surprised if one
even asks about it. There are pictures and flags of the moun-
tain spirit; he can animate a spirit-spear. Heaven is formless,
imageless; no one knows what it looks like. -- Heaven has an
exalted uniqueness even in contrast to the mountain-spirit.

174 Besides the mountain-spirit the earth-deity has its seat
776 in the obo, and, to be sure, in the layer of earth. Its name
[192] glu is doubtless the Tibetan klu, Naga, dragon. In Mongolic
the word for it is lu, which is also much in use in the Tujen lan-
guage. It corresponds to the Chinese lung (dragon). The cus-
toms with the earth-god urn show the earth deity of the Tujen
more in the Bonistic realm of the Naga cult than in the Mongolic.
It is quite possible that two types have mixed here or that the
ancient Mongolic has been covered by the later Bonistic-
Lamaistic. According to Pallisen (op. cit., pp. 159 f.), the
ancient Mongols practiced a cult of the earth-deity, who is
probably to be thought of as female. There it bears the name
itoga or, in the prevocalic version, etügen, and is conceived
as the tutelary deity of the homeland earth. The characteristics
that are attributed to this deity correspond to those of the moun-
tain-spirit. It is also to be surmised that this deity is to be
associated with the female shamans, who call themselves udugan

[229 cont.]
174 (udagan, idugan). (Cf. Koval., p. 386; Uno Harva, Die religiösen
776 Vorstellungen der altaischen Völker [The Religious Conceptions of
the Altaic Peoples], p. 450.) As the ceremonies of the earth-god
urn indicate, this deity has something to do with butter and silk
(silk wrapping, butter-pouring), as well as with grain (barley
filling). Something similar applies to the ètügen, which, as a
female deity, is endowed with the attribute "fat-faced" and
"silk-faced." (Cf. N.N.Poppe, "Schaman. Handschriften
[Shamanistic Manuscripts]," Vol. I, 196-197, Manuscript XI;
statement according to W.A. Unkrig.) Further indications of
the connection of the earth-deity with the origin of agriculture
and corresponding Tujen myths must be omitted here.

776 [230] Now regardless of where the earth-deity of the
Tujen came from, it, heaven, and the mountain-spirit form an
ancient trinity which has divided up the world. According to the
[821] general conception of the Tujen, heaven rules over the air space,
the clouds, wind, lightning, sun, moon, and stars. The moun-
tain-spirit rules over the surface of the earth; animals, human
[823] beings, birds, forests, pastures, and mountains. The earth-deity
rules over the interior of the earth: metals, rocks, treasures,
the snakes and the worms, as well as the seed that slumbers in
the earth. This division, however, does not exclude heaven
from the other two realms. After all that has been said, he con-
tinues to be the lord of the gods and men. If he appears here
as coadministrator of the layers of the world, he only seemingly
surrenders his partial domains. One might better think of a
splitting off of certain activities of heaven and their being made
independent, as P.W.Schmidt assumes for similar cases among
other Asiatic peoples.

The Knowledge of Heaven

776 After the preceding discussions, the further characteris-
782 tics of heaven automatically present themselves. Among these
characteristics knowledge appear most clearly. Concerning
this knowledge the informant gave the following information
(Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer," op. cit., p. 873): "At the

[230 cont.]
776 incense burning you say: 'Heaven, you know it. What then
782 does heaven know?' -- 'Heaven knows all, he knows the attitude of my heart, he knows that I want to venerate him.' " -- This oft-cited saying in literal translation runs: heaven to know; freely, the heaven knows; or, the heaven is knowing. This is not a petitioning prayer, but simply a pure acknowledgment of this characteristic of heaven, and it implies, according to the explanation given, an omniscience.

Other expressions are found for this consciousness of the people. Thus, a frequently used oath-formula for a deposition, for example, runs: "Heaven is not high; heaven knows it (*tieṅgēre undur guei; tieṅgēre mudiem*)." The meaning is: Heaven is high, to be sure, but not so high that it would not know. (Cf. DMF 416, where this sentence likewise is designated as a "*formule de serment*" [oath-formula].) Another phrase that is often used runs similarly: "*tsimi mō gedzi yidza, tieṅgēre mudiem*. If (I) have done evil to you (if evil has happened to you), then heaven knows it"; cf. DMF 416. This especially emphasizes the knowledge of the inner attitude.

If one now adds generally that the whole veneration of heaven in offering and prayer is done under the presupposition that heaven also knows of human distress, it may be asserted that the people's consciousness of heaven simply as the knowing one is very much alive.

776 The belief in the knowledge is connected with the omnipresence of heaven. To be sure, it cannot be expressly ascertained, but the Tujen nonetheless have a conception of it when they say: "Heaven is there where one places it (*tieṅgēre andzi tedza, andzi-i*)." According to the linguistic usage this means: Heaven is everywhere. (Cf. DMF 416, where the same meaning is explained.) This phrase seems evidently to be determined by the strong impression [231] that the all-encompassing firmament makes on the unconstrained mind of the people, especially in the steppes and on the mountains on the Koko Nor. As far as one
[772] wanders, whether by day or night, the endless heaven extends over man. It is really an all-encompassing bell, which the Tujen imagine to be fastened to a nail in the universe.

[231 cont.]

The Power of Heaven

776 Heaven as giver of all benefits. -- As repeatedly appears
in the individual chapters, all benefits come from heaven. It
[241] gives rain and sunshine, causes the seed to thrive, and protects
man and animal from sickness. Man acknowledges this in the
[782] offering, especially in the primitial offering and the harvest
thank-offering. The grain, the barley, is ultimately traced
back to heaven by man. (Cf. above under the primitial offering, agriculture myth, p. 340.) Man owes even his clothing
[773] to heaven. Thus it is said at the beginning of the Geser legend:
"Heaven provided the benefit of clothing; a boot fell down from
heaven (tieṅgĕre džoġ nãṅladzia; tieṅgĕrdza perlõṅgē bȫdzi
rĕdzia)." (Verses 6-7.) -- That other gods are also called upon
for various needs does not prejudice the fact that heaven is the
cause of even these benefits. The case would only be otherwise
if there were things which were ascribed to these spirits to the
exclusion of heaven, which, however, cannot be demonstrated
from the material available.

776 The moral power of heaven. -- The moral power of
577 heaven is expressed by the fact that man puts his conscience in
relation to heaven and acknowledges the latter as binding and
626 entitled to sanction. For that which we would call conscience
the Tujen simply uses the word heart (sgil); sgil is not the physi-
[192] cal heart, but the inner attitude, heart in the figurative sense.
Thus they say, for instance, sen sgil (good heart); tsini sgil
diesēn ugua (you do not have an honest attitude); tsini sgil ugua
(you have no conscience). In these cases the Tujen translates
the word sgil with the Chinese leang-hsin (conscience, honest
spirit). (Cf. also DMF 348.) Now, as the two prayer formulas
that were explained above demonstrate, heaven knows the
inner attitude, it knows the heart of a man: "If I did evil to
you, heaven knows it," "Heaven is not high, it knows it."
Since these sentences are used as oath or vow formulas, it is
not simply confirmation of heavenly knowledge that is given
by them, but rather one tacitly also presupposes a sanction by

[231 cont.]

776 heaven that is based upon this knowledge. This is made even
577 clearer by the fact that one ascribes punitive power to heaven.
626 A much-used expression is: "tieṅgëre dardzia, heaven has
punished (sc. him), that is, sent misfortune"; dari- means
[192] literally "to tame"; it is used predominantly for the taming of unruly
horses. Similarly it is also said when one humbles a proud person: "tolġue dari- (to force the head down)." (Cf. DMF 45.)
[777] The people popularly explain the blows of misfortune that strike
a person as a humbling and punishment by heaven.

776 [232] Above all heaven shows itself as a binding force
585 at the conclusion of a marriage. According to L. Schram
626 (Mariage, pp. 71 and 174), the actual act of concluding a marriage is the kowtow that the bridal people perform in the yard
before heaven and the countless burchan. Heaven stands in first
place. The significance of the act is shown by this solemnity,
[171] which crowns the other ceremonies. Precisely as among the
Chinese, this rite before heaven (among the Chinese without
burchan) has the force of law, and the marriage is regarded as
concluded. That an ancient conception lies at the bottom of
[533] this is shown in the song delivered, "The Bird Pair," which is
sung at every wedding. In it is described how shepherd and
shepherdess at the incense offering regard themselves as a pair.
(Cf. above, p. 343, where the incense offering is discussed.)
Then, however, it is stated with unmistakable unequivocalness:
"We venerate the great heaven and are a pair for life (šge
tieṅgërni amudadzi, nigë nisëni dzawa dãṅlieya)." Likewise
[588] the marriage with the mani-tree in the absence of a husband is
regarded as having the force of law before heaven; cf. Schram,
op. cit., p. 127. The children born of the woman are called
in Chinese t'ien sheng tzu (heaven's children). Before this
marriage the girl is given the woman's hairdo; this is called
[302] in Chinese pao t'ien-t'ou (to apply the heavenly hairdo). --
The opposite also appears; a girl promises her virginity to
[831] heaven and as a sign of it lets her hair hang down: arin fsdzün
tieṅgërde fdzë bōlgadzia (the pure girl lets her hair hang down
for heaven). -- For the rest, the ancient Mongolic conception
of the election of the Mongols by God and their task of
rulership might still be exerting an effect among the Tujen.

[232 cont.]

776
773
Heaven and creation. -- Even though the Tujen ascribe to heaven all the benefits of life, this still does not mean that they also derive from it the origin of the world. They do not concern themselves about it. "The old man gave no clear answer to the question as to whether heaven had also created the earth and human beings, where they came from: 'Who knows that? Who asks about it? No one says anything about that.'" (Schröder, "Herbst-Dankopfer," *op. cit.*, p. 873.)

According to the Geser legend a world with living beings was present from the very beginning. In this world there lived the "lama existing by virtue of himself" (*arañ sũndẽ lama* = P'an-ku). He is by no means God, for above him there already existed heaven, which threw down in a boot the first emperor, who was raised by this lama. It is then described how the earth became populated. Finally, there still exist original beings (original animals), and it is likewise not said where they come from. Here Buddhistic, Lamaistic, and ancient popular conceptions are intermingled and run side by side. Nowhere, however, is there mention of any creation; only the first emperor came from heaven.

[241] The same is also found in the agriculture myth. This deals with the outfitting of the earth by a Buddhistically conceived demiurge. At the center of it is the creation of the food base through the bringing forth of barley from the magical vase and the introduction of agriculture. [233] This demiurge also comes down from heaven in three steps. There is no mention, however, of any creation of the world or human beings, only of an arrangement of the world into a habitable living space. The myth begins: "In the olden days of yore when the race of human beings had been produced, there was neither sun nor moon, and the race of human beings existed in darkness. There was no chance to live." Where the human beings came from remains unresolved. It says only, *sẽmtsien kuni darladzia* (the totality of human beings had been produced). One may assume, however, that heaven was involved, for the culture hero (who outfitted the earth) likewise comes from heaven, as does the first emperor of the human beings in the Geser legend, and later Geser himself.

[233 cont.]

776 773 Even less can be determined of any creative activity of heaven with respect to the individual human being. To be sure, a current Tujen saying runs: suniẹdzēne tieṅgēre xuradzia, heaven has taken the soul (DMF 361), but this expresses only the rulership of heaven over life and death. There is no mention of a creation of the soul. The Chinese also know a similar phrase: t'ien shou-la t'a-ti ling-hun.

777 776 192 171 Heaven and fate. -- A question suggested in connection with the ancient Mongolic meaning of fate or good fortune, which has had its greatest elaboration in the sülde cult, is whether something similar is to be found among the Tujen, say, that there might be a fate standing over heaven. -- The Tujen know three expressions for "fate": dzieyan, šdiemdžël, kimori.

dzieyan is used predominantly in the sense of favorable conditions of life, for instance, when one says: "The girl has experienced a favorable fate," meaning that she has married into a good, wealthy family. The Tujen word corresponds to the Mongolic jayagan, but does not have the latter's essential content. The significance seems, rather, to have been transferred from the original jayagan to the Tujen expression šdiemdzël.

šdiemdzël, peculiarly enough, is now found not so much in everyday language as in song. Thus the Tujen songs popularly end with the verse: [533] moṅġol kuni lõnšda (or kimori) darlagu, šdiemdžëlgë rëdziġlaya, in order to erect the air-horse of the Mongols, let (us) lay (= build) a good-fortune foundation. This conception is linked with the image of the central fort. The air-horse is grounded in the central fort. Accordingly the šdiemdžël would correspond to the basis for fate, which is symbolized in the air-horse. Evidently, ancient conceptions are mixed here with more recent Buddhistic ones, whereby in connection with the Hayagriva figure, fate and horse are brought together. Linguistically the word šdiemdžël cannot be understood unequivocally. The second syllable ... džël, however,

[*233 cont.*]
777 is undoubtedly to be equated with the Mongolic *dsol* (*dzol*). According to Koval. (2386), it means: good fortune, salvation.
776 Koval. gives the Tibetan equivalent *stes* for it. When one notes
192 that the Tujen always insert an *i* before an *e* in Tibetan loan-
171 words, then the first syllable *šdie(m)* might be this Tibetan *stes*, whose final *s* is silent. The *m* would then be inserted in assimilation to the following dental. As regards its meaning, the Tujen translate *šdiemdžël* [*234*] with the Chinese *yün-ch'i* or *t'ien-ming*. They also, however, render *kimori* in the same way. It is thereby stated that fate is under the power of heaven, which Uno Harva also stresses for the Altaians and Mongols (*Vorstellungen*, pp. 144-145). In other words these Altaic-Mongolic conceptions can easily be linked with the *kimori* and *šdiemdžël* of the Tujen. According to Uno Harva, in the case of the guarantors of good fortune, the tutelary spirit of man, called *zajači*, is involved in the form of a double: "If a person is wealthy in his lifetime, *zajači* is also well-dressed, rides on a horse, and is gay" ... When the person dies, *zajači* disappears into heaven where he lives in the company of the gods" (*op. cit.*, pp. 276 f.). The Lamaistic air-horse of the Tujen like-
777 wise bears on its back the guarantor of good fortune, the wish-
776 ing jewel, by virtue of which the human being obtains all that seems desirable to him, in other words, good fortune. It has
171 almost the effect of an amulet. Now, according to Uno Harva, when the tutelary lord of good fortune seems to be oriented more toward the individual person, then in the case of the *sülde* of the Mongols he is acting for the entire people, and, to be sure, through the khan; meanwhile, the historical development among the Chinggisiden made nine *Tengri* of good fortune out of it. Father W. Schmidt, in conjunction with Banzarov, characterizes the *sülde* in the following manner (UdG., X, p. 78): "Heaven guides the world like the khan and possesses its *sülde* ... The *sülde* of the khan is a reflection of the *sülde* of heaven ... The nine *sülde-tengri*, according to their character, are always there in order to protect. They are represented in warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone, in the manner of riders ..." etc. Here, too, it is the riding

[234 cont.]

777 776 171 god of good fortune. It seems that further reminders of these times still echo in the Tujen songs: of the fate of the Mongols, which is based on good fortune; or of the sülde of the khan, which invisibly protects his subjects (UdG., loc. cit.). -- Whatever the connections may be, neither according to Uno Harva nor according to Banzarov-Schmidt nor in the conception of the Tujen themselves is there a fate or good fortune that is independent of the rule of heaven.

772 776 Summary. -- Everything that has been said about heaven proves it to be an independent deity existing for itself, sharply separated from all other gods, ruling them and dominating the entire world. Its name is "heaven," not in the physical but in the personal sense. Everything pantheistic and animistic and every mana concept remains far removed from it. To be sure, it is not one god [monotheism] in the strict sense, but an authentic supreme god, a towering unique phenomenon among all the other deities. Because of this uniqueness the statement of A. Tafel about the Tujen can now be repeated in its correct interpretation: "Many say they have only one single god in which they believe."

[235]

2. Shamanism

121 756 Whereas the discussion of the belief in a supreme god could be confined to the region of the Tujen themselves and the corresponding sources, this is not possible for shamanism, for which reason a detailed presentation would not be suitable for this work. It is reserved for a special study. Here the groundplan can only be drawn in a sketchy fashion, merely representing a theory, because the detailed proofs must be omitted here. The question runs: Of what type is Tujen shamanism and where is it to be classified from the religio-historical standpoint? -- Three types are found among the Tujen: bō-shamanism (drum-shamans), gurtum-shamanism (warrior-shamans), and idol-shamanism (with the spear-soothsayer).

[235 cont.]

a) The bō or Drum-shamans

Characterization

756
192 The name: The Tujen name current throughout the land, bō, corresponds to the written Mongolic būge. Koval. (1242) gives for it the Chinese equivalent wu-jen, the Manchurian saman, the Tatar bugu, and the Tibetan lha-pa. The Russian expressions means: shaman, sorcerer; he translates it into French as: chaman, enchanteur. The Mongolic būge and all the other translations cited do not have any uniform meaning and can be used for the various types of shamans, exorcists, and even sorcerers.

The Chinese in the area and the Tujen translate bō with fashih, or somewhat contemptuously with shih-kung. The fa-shih call themselves only by this special name. According to communications (P.P. Eichinger, Bockwinkel), the name wu-shih is also in use in southern Kansu. It is important that all these designations are never permissible for the gurtum. The fa-shih are a special group that is to be clearly defined. (Space forbids going into an explanation of the names here.)

756
292
[531]
[302] Clothing and equipment. -- The fa-shih wear an old woman's costume without sleeves and usually patterned with pictures of dragons. Normally they have no head covering, but their hair is pinned up in the fashion of an old Chinese style for women, unless they are wearing an appropriate wig with hairknots, hair-bowl, and hairpin. These are not always available, however. On special occasions, they don the well-known five-part Buddhistic crown called p'ai-tzu.

756 Their essential equipment consists of the hoop drum, the hemp whip, and a three-pronged broad dagger. Other objects are added according to their functions.

756
776 Gods. -- Their principal deity is the great mother (ta niang-niang), also called mother of the nine heavens (chiu t'ien nai-nai). In addition, they also venerate the black tiger

[The bō or Drum-Shamans]

[235 cont.]

756 and, depending upon the region, various local spirits. These
[776] gods predominantly come from the Taoist pantheon.

[789] [236] Activity. -- Their principal task is the weather
[241] conjuration, the sowing and harvest festivals, and curing sick-
[755] nesses.

756 Peculiarity. -- The bō or fa-shih are differentiated from
787 the other shamans by the fact that they have no trance. If one
questions the people about it, one always receives the same
answer: "fa-shih pu fa shen (the fashih do not go into ectascy)."
Now that is not entirely correct. Namely, at the conclusion
of the sowing or harvest festival, one of them attempts an imi-
tation of the trance and wounds himself with the knife. This
is called: "fa ta-shen (to produce a great trance)." It is not a
trance at all, but at most a relic suggesting it; I was able to ob-
serve it several times. Thus the people are basically right when
they do not accord ecstasy to them. -- The people sum up the main
756 characteristic, however, in the saying: "fa-shih ch'uei ku, t'iao
535 shen (the fashih beat the drum and perform spirit dances)." Drum
and dance are the most outstanding. They always dance in
groups before the image of the great mother in order to please
her, or also before the sacrificial pig. These are not shamanis-
tic individual dances in order to induce a trance, but are cultic
group-dances that follow a definite ritual. One can therefore
designate them as drum- or dance-shamans, although true
shamanistic features are scarcely present any more.

Classification

171 Relationship to the more recent Siberian shamanism.
756 -- There are few similarities with Siberian shamanism. One
could regard the drum as the most important continuation from
Siberian shamanism. The relationship with the Tungusic and
Mongolic-Manchurian shamanism is stronger. The drum has
almost exactly the same execution and the same appendages as,
for example, among the Mongols of the Kürie-Banner. (Cf.

[*240 cont.*]
171 *loc. cit.*, also emphasizes. W. Heissig, too, has encountered
756 the difference between these two groups among the East Mongols;
cf. Heissig, "Shamanen," p. 40. There the gurtum are also
called "*Lajing*." Exactly like the Tujen, the Chinese, too,
differentiate between the *bō* (*fashih*) and the gurtum (*fa-la-tzu*
or *ku-êrh-tien*).

Beyond doubt, therefore, the gurtum in his present form
[779] is affiliated with Lamaism. First of all his area of distribution
coincides with that of Lamaism. One finds the gurtum in Tibet,
Amdo, and Mongolia. To designate him as specifically Mongolic,
as is done occasionally in the expression "the Mongolic gurtum,"
is misleading. To be sure he was described predominantly by
travelers in the Mongolic region, but detailed studies concerning
him were hitherto lacking. There is no original Mongolic
name for the gurtum, and the general term *bō* (*bōge*, *būgū*)
for shaman is not applicable to him. All names are Tibetan.

756 But what position does the gurtum occupy in Lamaism?
● 776 His main task seems to be exhausted in the representation of
the tutelary gods who constitute a special conceptual realm.
779 The three aspects that are included under the word *sku* have
174 already been indicated "gurtum." The Lamaistic tutelary
deities also bear the collective name "the five bodies," along
with the other name, "the five kings" (Mongolic: *tabun xaǵan*)
or "the protectors of the [*241*] doctrine" (Tibetan: *c'os skyoń*).
R. Bleichsteiner in his article "Srog-bdag, the lord of life"
(*Archiv für Völkerkunde*, Vienna, V, 1950, pp. 104-138) has
indicated the relationships between the three aspects, the
directions and world-guardians, who to be sure correspond to
the five tutelary lords. Evidently elements of various origins
have been combined here in the speculative melting pot of
Buddhism through the popular paralleling of microcosm and
macrocosm. The presence of these figures and the cultic
utilization are accomplished through the gurtum or, as he is
also called as presenter of the tutelary deities, the *sruń-ba*
(*ma*). In the case of the people's gurtum this relationship
likewise makes itself apparent through the use of the *wu-tao-shen*
cut in paper in various colors, which were mentioned
earlier. It seems, however, that this relationship is more

174 [241 cont.]
756 external and applies to the actual temple-gurtum, whereas the
779 people's gurtum is more strongly connected with the mountain-
[776] spirit and obo.

The foreign character of the gurtum in Lamaism. -- Even though the present-day figure of the gurtum, as was just stressed, belongs to Lamaism according to his appearance, his name, and his conceptual realm, this affiliation is not as close as it might seem.

In the first place the shamanistic basis of the gurtum points away from Lamaism. To be sure, tantristic Lamaism has its special presuppositions for the vivifying and presenting of deities; in this connection cf. Glasenapp, in ZDMG, 90, 1936, p. 552 (cited from Hoffmann, Quellen, p. 206), and H. Findeisen, Eine Erscheinung Yamantakas [An Appearance of Yamantaka], pp. 2 f. The ensouling of the gods' idols also lies in this direction. These presuppositions, however, are not decisive for the shaman-nature of the gurtum. The religious character of the gurtum shuns these magically colored rites. His calling and his power are independent of Lamaism. The shaman is a layman. The same is confirmed by W. Heissig (op. cit., p. 40): "The Layičing, however, belongs to no spiritual community,but is a layman." Only when he has become a shaman does he receive his confirmation in the monastery and Lamaistic instruction. The customs described in the first part concerning the gurtum and the helplessness of the monasteries in the search for a temple-shaman illuminate this
[792] fact sufficiently. This naturally does not exclude the possibility that in individual cases a shaman's calling may fall to a lama. This is not the rule, however, as the great number of people's gurtums outside the monastery proves, at least in the Koko Nor region.

Furthermore, the tutelary gods represented in the
174 gurtum do not seem to be at home in Lamaism; in the case of
756 the people's gurtum with his link to the popular mountain-spirit,
776 this is to be expected from the outset, but it is no less true for
779 the c'os-skyoṅ, for where is the boundary line between the

174 [241 cont.]
original and the borrowed to be drawn in Lamaism? Bleichsteiner
752 (op. cit., p. 111) writes: "The relationships of Pekar and the
•776 five kings generally are so manifold and complicated that an
779 unravelling seems to be enormously difficult." This one fact,
however, is probably firmly established: two of these kings,
Pekar and dGra-lha, come from the pre-Buddhist realm.

[242] Even the name Pekar, of the possessor-spirit of that famous state-oracle of gNas-c'uṅ, in its many forms has no satisfactory Lamaistic explanation. Although Tucci may have recently confirmed the view of Grünwedel, who in agreement with Schiefner derives the name dPe-kar from the Sanskrit word viharā (= monastery), this explanation nonetheless gives too much the impression of an "ad hoc" one, because Pekar is just moved up as monastery protector. Bleichsteiner, unconvinced by this interpretation, increases the explanations of the name by one new one and derives the word Pekar from the Iranian; cf. A. Grünwedel, Mythologie, p. 182, Note 2; R. Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 107 and 111 f.

Even more decisively than the name Pekar, Bleichsteiner designates the figure of Pekar as foreign: "With the exception of the legend ..., according to which the great magician Padmasambhava is supposed to have brought the demon Pehar or Pekar from the Indian monastery Odantapuri to the monastery founded by him, bSam-yas, as guardian and treasure protector, the sources concerning his origin from East Turkistan are fairly well in agreement." By way of confirmation he further cites Tucci: "The last-named investigator regards Pekar as a foreign tribal god that was later introduced into Tibet and converted to Buddhism by Padmasambhava." Bleichsteiner, op. cit., pp. 110, 111; cf. also H. Hoffmann, Quellen, p. 163.

Just as Pekar is the most important representative of the five world-guardians, or of the five c'os-skyoṅ, so dGra-lha is the main figure among the five personal tutelary spirits, who with Srog-bdag also has been moved up among the cosmic world-guardians. Here, too, the co-ordination of microcosm and macrocosm and their mutual interpenetration are to be emphasized. dGra-lha, who like Pekar appears as warrior, belongs

[242 cont.]

174 in the pre-Buddhist Bon layer. There can be no doubt about this
756 after the expositions of Bleichsteiner, who bases himself on
Hoffman; cf. Bleichsteiner, *op. cit.*, pp. 108 and 118 f.;
776 Hoffmann, *Quellen*, pp. 171 f. Here let it be noted that among
779 the Tsinghai Chinese these personal tutelary spirits are found in
a Buddhist transformation, and to be sure in the so-called "golden lamps" which every man carries unseen on his body, and two of them on his shoulders.

It is unnecessary here to discuss the other figures of the five kings, since at this point no clarity concerning them can be obtained. The world-picture to which they belong, in spite of all the Buddhistic features, has such a broad base that it extends from Central Asia to India and into the ancient Orient, for even the world-mountain conception and the world-directions arrangement with corresponding guardians does not come from Buddhism in the final analysis, even though -- taken over and reinterpreted by it -- it may have been brought as on a "vessel" over extensive parts of the Orient.

The mountain-spirit, the principal tutelary spirit of the people's gurtum, is so evidently pre-Buddhist that it need not be discussed further here. It will be referred to again in the description of the weather forts in Tsinghai. Hoffmann (*Quellen*, pp. 159 and 166) has given a report concerning the mountain-spirits, with references to the pertinent literature. He classifies them as pre-Buddhist [243] gods under the type of the *rGyal-po*, to which the *c'os-skyoṅ* also belong. The picture of the mountain-god *Kangchendzõnga* permits one to see a certain similarity with the gurtum (pp. 166-167).

The position of the gurtum within Lamaism thus shows that he was not there originally. Both his being a shaman as such and the possessor-spirits represented by him come from earlier, non-Buddhist layers. Only the adaptation and
174 serviceability for the Buddhist community as its tutelary lord
756 (monastery), the speculative classification under the "aspects,"
the ritual embellishments during the testing and functioning
779 of the gurtum, certain prayers, and finally the assimilation to
the dress of the Buddhist deities are Lamaist, in other words,

[*243 cont.*]

174 heaven is completely lacking. The type of Bon shamanism de-
756 scribed here seems rather to have its vestiges among the fashih
[789] in the Chinese Koko Nor region, whose close connection to the
Bon religion was already surmised above, especially since these
fashih (or *bo*) [*244*] are very frequently represented precisely in
the region of Kuei-tê on the same river where today the Bon
religion is still fairly strong. -- It is not to be disputed in any
way that the type of the *gNas-c'uṅ* oracle is a survival from the
Bon religion. However, just as the Bon religion generally is not
a homogeneous structure, so the shamanism contained in it
would also not have been of a uniform type. And precisely if
the *gNas-c'uṅ* oracle is a survival from the Bon religion, this
proves that here, too, as elsewhere, at least two shaman types
were present: the Siberian drum-shamans and the warrior-
shamans (10). An element that Hoffmann clearly characterizes,
however, must be considered in the case of the warrior-shaman,

---

10. The gurtum type of the *gNas-c'uṅ* oracle can be linked much better to *Gšen-rab* itself or to the *Dto-mba* *Shi-lo* of the Na-khi, the founder of Bon shamanism. The sign for *Dto-mba* *Shi-lo* is *Ssu*, in other words, the ancestor, tutelary god, and in the final analysis the god of life of the Na-khi family; cf. J.F. Rock, "Dto-mba Shi-lo," p. 45, Note 2. This establishes the connection with the basic figures of the other possessor-spirits of the gurtum, [776] who, to be sure, finally manifest themselves likewise as god of life. -- Furthermore, the Dto-mbas with their swords and demon battles ("sham battles" [cited in English]) resemble the gurtum; cf. J.F. Rock, *op. cit.*, p. 77, Pl. 12.

174 [244 cont.]
756 namely, the connections between bird and shaman (p. 199 f.).

756 Warrior-shaman and tutelary-spirit heroes. -- In shaman-
ism the tutelary or helping spirits play a decisive role. In the
776 case of the possession-shaman, and therefore also in the case of
the warrior-shaman, these spirits are at the same time the possessor-spirits. What is most important about the warrior-figures of the tutelary spirits of the temple-shamans has already been said, when mention was made of the five kings, especially Pekar and dGra-lha.

171 The dGra-lha of the Tibetans has a counterpart in the
good-fortune tutelary lord of the Mongols as he has already been
756 described above in the section on the cult of heaven (p. 359),
776 and to be sure in the figure of the dsayači and its extension in
the sülde. The warlike character of the sülde tengri has been described in detail by the Mongol Dordschi Banzarov in his "Černaja vjera ili šamanstvo u Mongolov" (1846). Only a characteristic quotation from the version of Father W. Schmidt (UdG, X, p. 79) is to be given here: "The nine sülde-tengri, according to their character, are always there in order to protect us. They are represented in a warlike pose as though they were awaiting battle with someone, in the manner of riders, dressed in armor, wearing helmets on their heads, armed with swords and spears, holding a knout in one hand, a flag in the other. They are accompanied by falcons, as well as by a lion, a panther, bears and dogs." Father W. Schmidt notes in connection with this description: "Banzarow, as he states, has taken this presentation from Volume IV of the work by Mergen Diyanči; he wrote the book concerning the offerings presented to these genii." (UdG, loc. cit.) Concerning the relationship of the dGra-lha to the sülde or to the Mongolic good-fortune tengri and their warlike character, as well as their representation in the banner and on flags (jusun-sülde), Lüdtke has given a report, referring to Potanin, Waddel, Grünwedel, and other Russian as well as Mongolic sources; [245] See Lüdtke, "Die Verehrung Tschingis-Chans ...," op. cit., pp. 110-115. A supernatural double of the human being, who is conceived as a warlike tutelary lord and who shares and influences the weal and woe

[245 cont.]

171 of his protégé, is involved here; in this connection cf. also 756 Bleichsteiner (or Hoffmann), "Srog-bdag," pp. 118 f. It is not 776 possible to give here all the models and possible archetypes of these warlike doubles and "alter egos." They are very widely distributed in space and time, as is the belief in tutelary spirits generally, and extend back over the archaic high cultures into still earlier times (Megalithic); cf. Dominik Wölfel, Die Religionen des vorindogermanischen Europa. A special development is represented by the sülde banner of the Mongolic khans, which also attests to the fact that in the case of these tutelary spirits true localizations and seizure are involved.

174 756 776 That these tutelary spirits are connected with ancestors, and in part identical with them, can likewise be amply documented, as it is repeatedly emphasized in the shamanism. One special feature is still to be pointed out: the shamanistic use of armor and weapons. My informant told me that the Tujen [523] [787] formerly had brought the weapons and equipment of famous popular heroes into the temple where they were stored. Then when a shaman who had been called put on this equipment, the powers and the spirit of the hero descended upon him. The shift of an old popular custom into Lamaism is evident here, for prior to this the protector and guardian of the ayil (tribe) was the mountain-spirit in the obo; he watched over the weapons, and in former times arms were also buried in the obo; cf. above, pp. 351 f., and the chapter on the obo, Anthropos, 47, 1952, pp. 63 ff. [pp. 114 ff. above in the HRAF translation]. Just as the popular festivals were later transferred from the obo to the Lamaistic temple, this also happened with the weapons and equipment and the associated donning of them by the shaman. This also explains the especially close connection of the people's gurtum with the mountain-spirit and obo and his warlike character still today. It is well-known that the obo has a special connection with the tribal lord and the latter's descendants. Like- [773] wise it is told of Geser, who, to be sure, according to the Tujen version, was also the ancestor of the Tujen, how he donned the supernatural armor which is kept in readiness for the special task of the battle against the ills of mankind in heaven.

[245 cont.]

171 Heissig reports similarly of the East Mongols: "In the
756 monasteries, according to tradition, weapons, helmet, and
776 war harnesses of famous, perhaps legendary Mongolic heroes are
● preserved... These heroes and their arms bear the name Coyjing
(lit. coyijung). Once or twice every month, after previous praying
and fasting, a number of lama-monks in the Küriye-Banner
are supposed to clothe themselves with the armor of the Coyijing
and seize the weapons belonging to them. The spirits and
powers of the heroes immediately come over their bearers and
equipment. The lamas go into ecstasy..."; cf. Heissig,
"Shamanen," op. cit., p. 41. Coyjing, of course, refers to the
Tibetan co's-skyoṅ. Here, too, however, the old conception
[523] continues to have its effect of preserving the powers of the old
heroes for the succeeding generations by preserving the equipment
and weapons.

756 [246] One could call this custom a shamanistic preservation
of antiquities. At any rate, every visitor of Lamaistic
523 temples and shrines is struck by the ample store of weapons,
banners, etc. Perhaps the Tujen custom of presenting the clothing of the deceased to the monastery also goes back to this conception, even though today they are merely thought of as a bosē, a prayer fee. When a monastery lacks a shaman who can don the armor, an artificial figure is dressed in it. I once saw such a statue equipped with ancient weapons and exhibited in a sitting position in the gate of the soothsayer-temple at dGon-luṅ, just as the gurtum at the beginning of his trance is seated in the temple facing the image of his tutelary spirit. The people moved past this image and gave it the appropriate veneration. This figure is likewise called sgurdien.

171 The warrior-shaman is widespread, and was even in pre-Lamaistic times. B. Laufer presents clear evidence for its
756 presence in ancient China in his book, Chinese Clay Figures.
He presents several illustrations of excavated statuettes and dates these back to the Chou period, to an "archaic period" [cited in English]); cf. the legend for Plate XVII. Laufer describes these figures expressly as shamans "in the act of throwing a spear during a struggle with demons" [cited in English]. On

[252 cont.]

756 778 still cannot explain its great significance and use.

The Other Idols

778 791 Just as the spirit-spear is the seat of a deity which is activated by a middleman, so also is a series of other idols. These may be: the table, the spirit-litter, weather club, carriage axles, noodle roller, etc. Of these the spirit-table and the god-litter are the most important.

[776] The spirit-table bears its name unjustly, for it is not a table, but the representation of an animal deity, the black tiger. This is confirmed by the fact that it is consecrated at the consecration of this tiger and is regarded as possessed by the latter. Furthermore, the intestines of the tiger are attached under the top, which, however, are not visible to the eye.

[787] The soothsaying with the table is done exactly as with the spear, except that it is held by two persons.

[776] This deity, according to all the statements, is peculiar to the Chinese shamans. That it was originally foreign to the Tujen is proved precisely by the superficial name given it, sirie purgan (table-deity), where in reality the top forms the back, the table legs are the tiger's legs, and the underside bears the intestines.

[532] The spirit-litter has no Tujen name at all, but is simply called, as in Chinese, chiao-tzu or niang-niang chiao-tzu (litter of the mother). The litter is not the main thing, but the god's figure sitting in it, which is executed as realistically as possible, with magnificent clothes, real hair, and flesh-colored face. The interior likewise contains the intestines, the heart, and the maternal organs. The figure is consecrated with the litter, at which time the inner organs are put inside.

This goddess likewise belongs to the Chinese shamans (fashih), who also undertake its animation. Frequently, he honored, and the rites he performed. It will afford 756 an opportunity to study a shamanism influenced by Taoism, honoring Taoist gods, but conserving its original character and living congenially with Taoism. The suppleness of shamanism which, according to the cir- [177] cumstances, adapts itself as well to Lamaism as to Taoism, adopting heterodox doctrines and honoring alien gods,[1] challenges belief. However, it discloses the power of which it disposes, conserving its original rites which betray its origin and basic character. It is interesting to note how rites resist the wear of time better than doctrines.

The facts were all gathered during the ten years I lived among the Monguors, and were checked many times by shamans, chiefs and elders of villages, men and women, and children in the schools, all of whom had attended shamanist rites their whole life long. I at- [123] tended their rites several times. Since I was best acquainted with the rites of the region situated north of the Hsining River, most of the facts concern that region.

The Mongols call the shamans *BÖ*, the Monguors call them *BO*, on account of the lack of the vowel Ö in [194] their dialect. *BÖ* and *BO* seem to be a genuine Mongol term. The Chinese of Huang-chung call them *Fa-Shih*, "Master of Magic."

It is not easy to give a definition of shamanism and of shamans who live in a world beset with innumerable good and evil spirits with which the objective of their life is to deal.

The study of shamanism is still very confused, and 756 authors are even unable to find a definition with which 771 they will all agree. W. Schmidt defines the shaman as "a man who is supposed to have the power of making his own person a dwelling place for the spirits, who will speak out of him, but he keeps the power to dominate those spirits and to subdue them to his own will and wishes."[2]

Mircea Eliade, describing the shamanism of Asia, stresses primarily the phenomena of ecstasies and of trance, by means of which the shamans enter in communication with all kinds of spirits—originally with the Supreme Spirit of Heaven, who corresponds morphologically with the Supreme Spirits of the archaic re- [776] ● ligions—and with the souls of ancestors and the departed. This communication with spirits, residing in the three worlds (heaven, earth, underworld) is symbolized by ascensions to heaven of the shaman or descents into the underworld, the calling down of spirits along the rope or the ladder. The basic element of shamanism consists not of the incorporation of spirits

---

[1] Walter Heissig, Schamanen und Geisterbeschwörer im Küriye-Banner, *Folklore Studies*, Catholic University of Peking, 3: 1, 1944. This very interesting study reveals the way shamanism adapted itself to Lamaism.

[2] W. Schmidt, *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee*, Freiburg in der Schweiz, Paulus Verlag, 9: 243, 1949.

[p.77(A)]

to drive away evil spirits. It is not used during the 756
ceremonies celebrated in the temple of the village. The 793
staff is considered to be endowed with magical power and is planted before the picture of the Twelve Tengris honored by the shaman at his home. It is honored like an idol; the shaman burns incense and prostrates himself before it.

Every time a shaman uses his tools they have to be purified. By smoking them above a fire of cypress boughs. It is said that some laymen who honor a special spirit are able to use a staff and to call their spirit into it.

SPIRITS HONORED BY THE SHAMANS

The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans 756
involves the very interesting question of how and to 177
what extent shamanism and Taoism became mixed and 171
interwoven among the Monguor shamans—a question which is all the more interesting because it has often been written that shamanism and Taoism are strongly linked together. In order to tackle the problem it is necessary to determine whether the spirits honored by shamans and Taoists are the same, whether the ways of worshipping them are similar, and what may have been the reason for the intermixture of the two religions.

SHAMANS, DISCIPLES OF THE TAOIST GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

756
The most baffling and confusing fact in this respect 776
is that all the Monguor shamans overtly claim to be 171
disciples of the "god of the five roads," the Wu-tao-shen, who is a Taoist god.

When the chiefs of the villages invite a shaman to perform his rites of spring or autumn for the community, they send one of the elders with an official invitation written on a slip of red paper, "to [sir] Hsien-sheng so-and-so, disciple of the god of the Five Roads." During the Mongol dynasty the term *Hsien-sheng* was only used for Taoist priests. On New Year's the shamans send to the chiefs of the villages and to outstanding people a card reading, "Happy Congratulations of so-and-so, disciple of the god of the five roads." It has already been noted that the crown worn by the Monguor shamans represents the god of the Five Roads, that one of the caps worn during the performance of the rites is the cap of the Taoist priests, and that the pattern of their gown, except for its color, is the same as that of the Taoist priests. It has been noted that the Monguor shamans are members of the guild of the Taoist priests of the city. When a shaman dies he is buried wearing the crown of the god of the Five Roads. If one adds that many of the temples in the villages in which the shamans perform their rites are dedicated to the god of the Five Roads, and that at the same time more Taoist statues are honored in them, it gives the impression that the shamans are a kind of Taoist. Not only does the cult of the god of

[p.84 (B)]

the Five Roads link them to Taoism, but also the cults 756
of Lung-wang (the Dragon King, provider of rain), 776
Niang-Niang (the Mother Goddess of children), Ho Hu 171
(provider of rain), Hsüan-t'an (guardian deity against hail), Ma-wang (the Horse King, protector of horses), and Ts'ai Shen (the god of wealth). During the performance of their rites these gods are called up, and are supposed to come to attend the gathering of the community. The dialogues between the shamans and the Taoist deities gave the illusion of attending a real Taoist assembly.

All these facts evidence the assumption that the shamans worship the gods of Taoism.

"GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS"

The Monguor shamans during the performance of 175
their rites in spring and autumn never fail to assert be- 776
fore the public that they are the real disciples of the 756
god of the five roads, who was created god by the emperors of the Chou dynasty (1122–256 B.C.) and that the General Chiang Tze-ya ordered them to worship him, teaching them the way of honoring him, and promising that he would provide his aid and support to them in the most trying and straightened circumstances, and would never falter.

This explanation, in crude Taoistic fashion, is a far cry from that of nomad shamans who assert that the good spirits had sent from heaven a shaman eagle to teach their ancestors the way of combatting the evil spirits,[27] and from the explanation given by the same Monguor shamans that their ancestors were chosen by the Twelve Tengris. These ambiguous and equivocal explanations seem really to cancel one another out. According to their own explanation their shamanism is ultimately founded on a mandate received from a Chinese general.[28]

The real history of the famous god of the Five Roads I never had the opportunity to find out. In some temples I read the two following inscriptions, "Duke Mu of Ch'in raised him by imperial patent to Wu-tao; prince Chuang of Ch'u gave him, by imperial grace, the title of General"; and "General Mountain before the carriage of King Chou: the spirit of T'ai mountain raised him to Wu-tao." These two inscriptions seem to be as apocryphal as the saying of the shamans, and assign to a period earlier than reliably recorded history the creation of the god. The cult of the god of the Five Roads, however, seems to be widespread along the northwestern borders of China. I met it from

---

[27] Nioradze, *op. cit.*, 2–3.

[28] Wieger, *Textes historiques*, 1658–1659, 1841, Ho Kien-fu, 1903. Chiang Tze-ya was traditionally the Shang general who became a counsellor to the founder of the Chou dynasty. He died in 1120 B.C.; twelve centuries later, during the Han dynasty, he became a very popular god of all kinds of pickled stuff. In 731, during the T'ang, he was created "war god" by the Taoist Emperor Huang-tsung, and an order was given to build temples to him.

Hsining across Ning-hsia to Sui-yuan, and Father W. 776
Grootaers noted in the region of Wan-ch'üan (Kalgan), 756
109 temples of the Wu-tao shen,[29] most of them smaller 175
than they had once been. The representations of the god of the Five Roads in the temples are all very similar. The reason for this similarity in temples so distant one from another may be that the Chinese painters used printed books in which they found the stereotypes and traditional representations of the whole series of spirits. They also used books containing all kinds of inscriptions appropriate to the different special spirits and to the spirits in general, and this explains the uniformity of the inscriptions and paintings encountered all over the country.[30]

TEMPLES OF THE GOD OF THE FIVE ROADS

The abode of the god consists generally of three 756
rooms (*chien*) situated on the north side of a mud or 778
brick walled courtyard. On each side of the courtyard
are another three or more rooms for storage of all 776
kind of paraphernalia used for processions and for the 346
kitchen. The entrance is in front of the abode of the 532
god. According to the topography of the country the temple is sometimes built against a mountain without taking account of the points of the compass. In the middle of the three rooms of the front building there is always placed a sedan chair in which is the statue of a female deity clad with a more or less precious robe, or there is the statue of a male deity, such as Wu-tao or Lung-wang. The female deity usually represents the goddess, Niang Niang (mother goddess of children); seldom, Shui-mu, the goddess of the water. The statue seems to be the center of attention for the whole building. It is carried in procession when the people are praying for rain, or for protection against hail. Every year the statues of the goddesses of the temples of Sha-t'ang Valley are carried to the temple of the god Erh-lang,[31] locked up with the god for one night and brought back the next day. The god is said to enjoy the visits of all the goddesses. This curious custom will be discussed later.

On the walls of the three rooms are frescoes depict- 756
ing the god of the Five Roads, who is never alone, but 776
associated with other gods. In the central panel the 346
god sits on a large chair, represented in the customary 532
fashion of a corpulent Chinese general, with long black beard, military cap, red coat over armor, large loose

---

[29] William A. Grootaers, Temples and history of Wan-ch'üan, *Monumenta Serica*, 13: 232, 1948. What is said in this very valuable study, in Chap. 2, on the Wu-tao temples, concerning the arrangements of the temples, the images and frescoes, even the inscriptions, tallies completely with my former notes. This is the first and only study made in China concerning all the temples built in a limited area, affording interesting data for the history of religion and the history of the country.

[30] *Ibid.*, 239.

[31] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 263. The identity of this spirit seems not to be the same in North and Middle China.

belt at the waist, the legs sprawled apart, boots with 756
thick soles on the feet, and a sword in the hand. On 776
the eastern panel is painted another general, the god 346
of the Mountain (Shan Shen) in nearly the same pos- 532
ture. On the western panel is painted an older man with white beard, vest, a yellow robe, hands hidden in his large sleeves; he is the god of the Earth (T'u-ti Shen). Why these three gods are always placed together is a mystery.

In the foreground of the three images on the east is the god P'an-tze, the judge, holding in his hands the "register of the living and the dead" (Sheng-ssu p'u). On the west is a horned, black-faced devil with red skin, holding the "Tablet to hook souls" (K'u hun p'ai). It is a strange gathering of disparate gods whose association is a puzzle. The association of these gods in the same temple explains the fact that some shamans, when performing rites, wear a crown with only one image, that of the god of the Five Roads, while others wear a crown with three images (Wu-tao, Mountain god, Earth god), and some wear the crown with five images, adding P'an-tze and the black-faced devil. It is no wonder that one also sees in some temples of the god of the Five Roads the inscription: "Wu-tao, Mountain god, and Earth god, protect this village, that it may get peace." All these disconcerting anomalies do not bother either the shamans or the Monguors.

In temples, so far distant from one another, we find not only similarity in the representation of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, but even in the subjects painted on the frescoes on both the side walls of the temple. Father Grootaers calls the subject, "the pursuit of the evil ones," explaining that "the god honored in the temple is shown on horseback, engaged in a pursuit against the powers of evil, which he then brings back enchained."[32] What, however, may have been the original mystical or ascetic meaning is not known, but the subject seems wonderfully adapted to the circumstances of the country of Hsining and the mentality of the people. The region of Hsining is mountainous. The most terrible yearly scourges, dreaded by the people, are the summer hailstorms devastating their crops. They are supposed to be produced by evil spirits, who must be combatted and subdued. The specific means used by the shamans in order to protect the crops against that scourge will be recorded later.

On the eastern wall is painted the picture of a hail- 756
storm. The pictures in Hsining are more fantastic and 532
in better keeping with the imagination of a Chinese painter than the pictures seen by Father Grootaers. An old, wickedly shrewd Chinese woman with disheveled hair blows wind and storm by means of a pair of bellows. A fat Chinese, elaborately vested, extends his arms, and black, threatening clouds gush effusively out

---

[32] Grootaers, *op. cit.*, 220.

756 532 of his large sleeves—he is the spirit of the clouds. Another corpulent Chinese god pours a torrent of rain out of the urn of the rainbow, which he holds in his hands. A Chinese girl, standing in the sky, flashes two metal mirrors producing terrific lightning. A spirit with athletic appearance, having a couple of long wings attached to his back, clashes a hammer and chisel together with fury, producing thunder. All over the scene big hailstones rattle down on crops and herds of fleeing sheep and cows and people with bleeding faces. Horses, cows, sheep, birds, serpents, and a couple of men lie dead on the ground. In the sky the three famous gods on horseback, with a whole retinue of dragon riders led by the devil, and the judge accompanied by a wolf and tiger, start the pursuit of the evil doers. It is a terrific picture for people who know by experience the havoc wrought on their crops by hailstorms.

In front of this awful picture on the western wall is displayed the pageant of the victorious return of the gods and their retinue, riding spirited horses, with banners on high, tiger and wolf with mouths and teeth red with blood from devouring the evil doers. The whole procession is proceeding toward the gate of a walled town where an immense crowd, on bended knees, waits to thank and congratulate the gods.

These two pictures are never lacking, either in the temples of the dragon gods of Ho-hu, Hsüan-T'an, or in those of the goddesses of children. This fact is really significant and reveals the people's dread of hailstorms.

The God of the Five Roads with his associates, over whom he seems to preside, is supposed to be a protector against hailstorms, so much dreaded by the people.

All these cumulative facts prove without question [177] that the Monguor shamans have adopted the gods of Taoism and honor them.

SHAMANS AND THEIR OWN TWELVE TENGRIS

756 776 532 The problem of the spirits honored by the shamans is not exhausted by the cult of the god of the Five Roads and his associates, since they still honor their own old spirits, calling them, "Our Twelve good Tengris, the most potent among the spirits." The young shamans are dedicated to the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads. Moreover, the shamans honor at home the Twelve Tengris and not the god of the Five Roads.

Who are the Tengris? Most of the pictures I saw were very primitive and painted by shamans themselves; those painted by Chinese artists were better. The pictures represented four rows of three Chinese warriors riding horses and wearing bow and quiver; a man on foot, with bow and quiver, accompanied each of the soldiers. In the center of the picture there was painted a man, not a warrior, bigger in size than the others, dressed in black, with a black face and beard, riding a white tiger and holding in his hand a knotty staff. I was curious about them, and was told that the black tiger rider was the chieftain, the leader of the

[p.86(B)]

group, and also, that on old images painted before the 756
Moslem rebellion, the twelve warriors and their servants 776
were represented as Mongols, and not Chinese, and 532
further, that a couple of modern shamans recently added to their pictures of the warriors, three Chinese girls riding on horseback, whom they called the "three small grandmothers," the *San Hsiao Niang Niang*.

The conviction existing among the Monguor shamans that the Twelve Tengris are their original and proper spirits is too general and too definite, and the behavior of the shamans toward them is too significant to be simply ignored or explained away. Further, the Monguors and the shamans know very well that shamans are not Taoist priests, and for that reason they call them *Bö* or *Fa shih*, "Masters of Magic," and not *Tao-shih*, "Masters of Tao," and they know very well that the rites performed by the shamans are not the same as those performed by Taoist priests in the country. Therefore, a rational explanation should exist.

CULT OF THE TWELVE TENGRIS TRACED

756
776
796

In the last month of the year the houses had to be cleansed and purified of all kinds of evil influences and spirits. At the palace of the prince a group of young boys, frightening and cursing the evil spirits hidden in the rooms, cried out that the "12 spirits" were on the way to hunt down and annihilate them; a group of 12 men, disguised as animals, led by the official exorcist (*Fang hsiang*) started pursuing the evil spirits.[33]

The eleventh on the list of the pursuing spirits was the "tiger," who was reputed the fiercest destroyer of all producers of calamities. Tigers are supposed to be the fiercest enemies of evil spirits . . . the tiger was the first dancer among the 12 performers of the rite.[34]

The tiger was the white tiger.[35]

---

[33] Henri Maspero, *La Chine antique*, 246, Paris, Boccard, 1927.

[34] Marcel Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine antique*, 319, 299-320, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

[35] *Ibid.*, 306. Ch. de Harlez, *Le livre des esprits et des immortels*, 176, Bruxelles, F. Hayez, 1893: "The nature of the white tiger, according to the *Shen-hsien t'ung chien* (18th century) seems to be at least ambiguous . . . the tiger is the strongest expression of the *Yang* principle (principle of power); the tiger lives 1,000 years and becomes white only after 500 years; its claws and the powder obtained by the burning of its skin are the most powerful: the thunder is its voice, talismans; or is produced by the noise of walking heavenly tigers. . . . In the regions of the west, at Fung lung, lived a white tiger accustomed to drinking human blood; every year the people offered a human sacrifice to it in order that it might desist from killing men. Chang Tao-ling (patron of the Taoists) ordered it to desist from this practice; the tiger left the country and disappeared forever. . . ."

Owen Lattimore, The gold tribe 'Fishkin Tatars' of the lower Sungari, *Memoirs Amer. Anthropol. Assoc.* **40**: 62, 1933: " . . . spirits like the bear, and especially the tiger, seem to be extremely rare as familiars (of the shamans), though they appear sometimes as enemies in the course of 'great spirit' ceremonies . . . I have heard only once of a shaman who apparently had a tiger familiar; he was regarded as a person much to be dreaded." "Shamans rely on animal spirits, the eagle, sturgeon, weasel, the *ilki* (an animal of the squirrel family), and otter appear to be the commonest familiars [of the shamans]."

On the doors, on New Year's, was pasted the image of the tiger.[36] 756 776 ●

These texts excerpted from the book *Lün heng* written by Wang Ch'ung, who died in A.D. 80–100, record rites practiced during the centuries before our era, and reveal that the twelve spirits were supposed the most powerful in the matter of driving out evil spirits, and that among the twelve, the White Tiger was paramount. 796

The cult of the twelve spirits led by their chieftan (Fang hsiang) combatting evil spirits seems to have been very popular in China. It was very tenacious, for it was still performed during the Liao dynasty, A.D. 907–1125. Wittfogel and Feng note: " . . . at the end of the year, 12 shamans, led by a great 'Wu,' sang, shouted, rang bells, and walked (or danced) around the tents with arrows in their hands, fighting off the spirits. Then they retreated to special tents for seven days."[37]

The cult of the twelve spirits of the Monguor shamans seems to be related to the old cult of the twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount, the whole group being led by a chieftain, the Fang hsiang. Although in their pictu[illegible] twelve warriors are represented plus the black rider on a white tiger, they always call the picture "the picture of the Twelve Tengris," and not the picture of thirteen spirits, or the picture of the White Tiger. They assert that they are the servants of the twelve spirits, their apprentices are dedicated to the twelve spirits, and the Monguors who honor the picture at home as a protector of the family, always call it, "The picture of the Twelve Tengris." They no longer know that the twelve warriors represented, in old times, twelve spirits in the disguise of animals, among which the White Tiger was paramount. However, all these facts seem to evidence that it is deeply ingrained in their consciousness that they honor Twelve Tengris, and no more, which are the enemies and destroyers of evil spirits. What is really astonishing is that, notwithstanding that the origin of the cult is completely lost, they continue to paint twelve warriors, and to put in the center of the picture a big white tiger mounted by a rider holding, not weapons, but a knotty staff in his hand. In this way the prominent role played in old times by the white tiger seems to be conserved, for a tiger occupies the center of the picture. What is even 756 776 [532]

W. Heissig, Schamanen im Kürye-Banner, *Folklore Studies* 3: 1: 44, Peking, 1944. The shaman in the Kürye-Banner wears an apron during the performances, representing the skin of a brown spotted tiger.

Doolittle, *Social life of the Chinese*, 229. Eliade, *op. cit.*, 146. Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen* 1: 344–352; 2: 144, 160, Leiden, Brill, 1942.

[36] Granet, *op. cit.*, 336.

[37] Karl A. Wittfogel and Fêng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao. (907–1125), *Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 36: 218, 1949. See also Eberhard, "Ich habe es für sehr wahrscheinlich dass die Tiertänze der No-Feste auf Turkestanischen fremde Einflüsse zuruck gehen," *Lokalkulturen, op. cit.* 1: 188.

[p.87(B)]

more astonishing is that the most potent rite performed 756
by the shamans against hail is called, all over the coun- 776
try, the Rite of the White Tiger, and that inside the mound built at that time is buried the effigy of the White Tiger with the black rider. Even today they still call the black rider the leader of the whole group, but nobody is able to explain why he is represented with a coat of black paint.

The three essential elements of the old cult are still represented in the picture, the twelve warriors representing the animals, the White Tiger being the most prominent, and the leader being the Fang hsiang of olden times.

Still another conclusion is to be drawn from the tradition that in former times, before the revolts of the Moslems, the twelve warriors were represented as Mongol warriors, and the fact that the twelve warriors are called *Tengris,* the Mongol term for a "heavenly being," and not *shen,* the Chinese term for a "spirit," notwithstanding that they call the other spirits by the Chinese name. Therefore, it seems obvious that the ancestors of the Monguor shamans must have belonged to the groups of Mongols who were settled in the country of Huang-chung by the Yüan dynasty, and that they came to Hsining bringing with them their Tengris from Mongolia. Monguor shamans seem to be of barbarian rather than Chinese stock.

Still another problem remains unsolved. The Mon- 756
guors are a fusion of two important groups, Mongols 184
and Shat'o Turks. We seem to be able to detect the [174]
share of the shamans of the Mongol group in the shamanism of the Monguors, but what has been the share of the Shat'o group? To be sure, the Shat'o were as shamanist as the other Turkish groups of Asia. Did they practice the cult of the Twelve Tengris before they settled in the country in 939? What kind of shamanism did they practice? It would be very interesting to know something about the cult of the Twelve Tengris and the role of the White Tiger among them in former times, but no data are available concerning their shamanism and at present the shamanist practices in the different groups of Monguors seem to be all the same.

We only know that the Shat'o who founded the dynasties of Hou T'ang and Hou Chin, like most of the Turkish tribes in Central Asia, honored the old Turkish "God of Heaven." After their conquest of North China the Hou Chin emperor, in 927, made offerings at the winter equinox, outside the city, to the "Barbarian God" at the hill of the White Marshal. When the emperor died, two of his best horses were sacrificed on the Western Mountain. The horse was the most important offering among all the Turkish tribes. Sacrifices were made on the tops of mountains. They liked to worship mountains. The Shat'o liked to visit the Buddhist caves of Lungmen. It is well known that the Turks had a cave myth and that with it was connected a cave

more supplementary decrees of Galdan Hun-tai-ji were 771 628
added to them.[58]

From 1558 until 1640, regulations of Mongol chiefs 756 followed each other, aiming primarily at the destruction 175 of shamanism. The Monguor shamans must have 795 known these facts, for news spreads rapidly among 575 barbarians. At the same time they saw the favors bestowed in the country on lamaseries, Karwas, and Nang-suos, by the Ming and Ch'ing dynasties, and they saw Erh-ku-lung, at the height of its glory, founding successively its forty-two branches, each having celebrated lamas. Life or death was the question for the Monguor shamans of Hsining.

It is tempting to suppose that the shamans, living in the quasi-independent territories of the T'u-ssu, near cities in which lived Taoist priests who were organized in guilds officially recognized by the empire, might have sought refuge with the Taoists in order to save their institution and traditions and that they might willingly have entered the guild of the Taoists, whose gods they worshipped for centuries.

If the shamans themselves had been opposed to enrollment in the guild, which entailed pecuniary disadvantages for them and the performance of non-remunerative rites in the city, surely the T'u-ssu, whose subjects they were, could easily have prevented the infringement of the rights, since their Monguors were only responsible to them for corvées, and since their subjects were not enrolled in Chinese guilds. Precisely herein lies the stress of the assumption that without the willing cooperation of the shamans, shamans never could have entered the guild, and when they entered the guild it was through fear of persecution by the Yellow Sect. According to this assumption, the shamans could have entered the Taoist guilds before the revolt of the lamas in 1723 and the catastrophe which befell Lamaism. It is easy, therefore, to understand the reluctance of the shamans to perform any rites in the temples dedicated to deities of Lamaism or to wear the crown of the five Dhyani. On the other hand they willingly perform rites in all kinds of Taoist temples, except the temples of Kuan-ti (God of War). I never obtained an explanation of this; in the whole Monguor region no Kuan-ti temple exists, while all the temples of the Monguors, which are the centers of the religious life of the village, are Taoist temples, and most of the protectors of the families belong to Taoism. Monguors cannot miss their shamans who only perform rites in Taoist temples.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion of this chapter seems to be that the 756 Monguor shamans honor two kinds of spirits—one, [776] spirits belonging to Taoism, and the other, spirits belonging to their shamanism proper; that the Monguor shamans are related to the group of old Wu priests for the first time the Kurtain starts an exacting training 756 which lasts for several weeks. This consists of dancing, vaulting, fencing practices, for he has to be in top trim in order to appear on the stage. He must discipline himself to the rules of a possessed man, in order to acquire the required disposition favorable to ulterior possession by his spirit.

---

[58] V. A. Riasanovski, *Customary law of the Mongol tribes (Mongols, Buriats, Kalmuks)*, 29-35, 1929.

It is customary for spirits to have only one disciple in the village. When he dies another appears, usually after a short time, but occasionally even after a long time, to discharge the duty. When a Kurtain grows old, his spirit abandons him and chooses a younger man to take his place. Kurtains, according to the Monguors, are very often really savage and violent when they are in the full bloom of their youth. The people are more scared of them than of shamans. Later, as they grow older, they become more moderate and calm. The genuine Kurtains, according to the Monguors, have their nerves easily excited. They do not look straight at the interlocutor, shun the company of men, and are rather fond of not talking. I got the same impression. Monguors do not trust much those who brag and boast about their prodigious achievements. It is also said that many Kurtains have their nerves on edge and feel excited and anxious between the fifteenth and the twentieth of the month. They feel hysterical and terrified at the time of storms.

BY WHAT SPIRITS ARE KURTAINS POSSESSED?

756
776

The Kurtains, who are not very numerous, are said to be mostly possessed by spirits of Taoism, never by the Twelve Tengris of the shamans or by the Heavenly Spirit. It has already been said that many temples of the villages are dedicated to the "Wu-tao-shen," some to the dragon spirit, others to the spirit of horses, or the spirit of cows; a few to Ho-hu and to the Mother goddess, to the god of Riches and Wealth, but in all those temples there is always in evidence a nice sedan chair where the statue of the Mother goddess or the dragon god or Wu-tao is enthroned. The reason is that it is customary to have a sedan chair in each village to be carried in the processions. Most of the Monguors honor at home the picture of the same Taoist spirits, although some honor Lamaistic deities. It has been noted above that in a few villages there is also a Buddhist temple apart from the temple of the village, but these temples are never the center of the religious life of the village. No wonder that most of the Kurtains claim to be the disciples of Taoist spirits. A few Kurtains claim to be possessed by deities of Lamaism.

AUTHORIZATION OF TESTS OF THE KURTAINS

756
571

The Monguors, having found themselves tricked many times, harbor a guarded and skeptical mood, and distrust new Kurtains. Since they suspect the au-

[p.91(A)]

buried in the mound, before the name of the spirits 782
whom they officially use for combating hail. 789

Is it far fetched to suppose that the Taoists do this because it is universally recognized that the rite of the shamans, using the White Tiger, outranks their own, and that in order to succeed they must act in this way?[3]

A stunning fact also is that the Taoists, and lamas of the Red Sect in the country, when performing that kind of rite are very fond of using nearly the same group of disparate items to be buried in the pit, except for the white living dog and cock. Can the sacrifice of two living beings be too basically shamanist to be performed by pure Taoists?

STRENGTHENING OF THE OLD MOUNDS

In keeping with the basic principle of shamanism, the 782
spirits after some time lose their powers and are subject to decay. 796 Consequently, they have to be nurtured and strengthened in order that they may continue [776] to help their followers effectively. The rite performed against hail, the pit with all its disparate items, and the famous rider and the White Tiger buried inside it are liable to lose their protectiveness, so every year more power has to be added to the mounds. In every village old mounds exist, built by the ancestors. According to the indication of the guardian spirit of the village, the building of a new mound is ordered from time to time because the last one has lost its power. However, the villagers believe that some effect can still be obtained from the old mounds, and in order not to lose that benefit, they strengthen every year the efficacy of all the old mounds built inside the boundaries of the village. The shaman is invited by the Monguors to do the job; the Taoist priest is invited in the Chinese villages, but seldom in Monguor villages. Both shaman and Taoist act in the same way. Small paper banners are prepared and wooden hammers and ravens, and also stakes with cabalistic designs and the inscription, "The Throne of the White Tiger god," and manikins made with boughs, holding bow and arrows. All these items are smoked by the shaman, over burning cypress boughs, before they are used. The rite takes a whole day.

A sheep is offered in the temple; water is poured in its ear to be sure the spirit agrees to the victim. The sheep is killed and offered, a dance and the beating of a drum is performed by the shaman. A "throne" (stake) is thrust in the ground in front of the temple

---

[3] F. W. Grootaers, in his very interesting monograph (*op. cit.*, 238), notes two inscriptions encountered on the frescoes of the temples of the god of the five roads in Wan-Ch'üan (Kalgan) "Holding bound the wolf and the tiger" and also, "Mountain general who holds bound the wolf and the tiger, *Wu-tao* god who catches the monsters" and he notes these inscriptions are, of course, not the products of the local imagination, but are copies by the local calligraphers from a popular anthology of "Inscriptions for all occasions." These calligraphers knew the history of the Twelve Tengris, among which is the White Tiger. But the wolf is unexplained.

The groups join each other on the way. Friendly 796
and high-spirited, they start early in the morning, with 782
banners, drum, and cymbals in the lead. The sedan chairs are put in a row at the foot of the high hill of the temple of the god Erh-lang. The stalwart fellows, with clubs clenched in their fists, are guards of honor of the goddesses, who stay next to their respective sedan chairs, waiting to climb the hill. The tradition runs that the crops of the village whose goddess first reaches the temple will be infallibly and positively protected against hail and prodigiously blessed. As soon as the cry for departure is howled out, the thirteen groups feverishly run to the top of the hill with their goddesses, howling, cursing, cutting their way, thrusting at one another, climbing by fits and starts, falling, leaping, jumping like savages, foaming at the mouth. The chair of the goddess who makes the mark is placed nearest the throne of the god. The door of the temple is closed. The fellows take their meal and rest in the side rooms of the temple.

They return home the next day. On the way back the villagers stand waiting on the road in order to learn whether their goddess won the race or not. On the trip to the temple the fellows were friendly to one another; on the return, however, the groups are excited, angry and seething with jealousy and frequently have a serious fight with clubs. In 1913 the sedan chair of the victorious goddess of the village of Wu-ch'i was smashed, but according to custom no suits are allowed [672]
for smashed heads, broken noses, bleeding faces, and torn clothes. After the famous expedition, the villages start their rites against hail in the village.

The aim of the pilgrimage of the goddesses to the temple of the god Erh-lang is to obtain his protection from hail and special blessings upon the crops of the village. They are dressed in full attire and decked out in jewels. What is the reason for sending goddesses to call on the god Erh-lang and to try and court his favors? Why is the call not made to another god such as the god of the Five Roads, the recognized protector from hail?

All over the country, Erh-lang is said to be the god [776]
of the River of Hsining, whose course he ordered, and to be interested in preserving the country from hail. He is said to have opened the rocks of Hsiao hsia (the

---

celebrated sacred spring. They carry with them the statue of [171]
the god of the rain (the dragon king) from their village temple and put it in the cave, next to that of the goddess, for a whole night, in order that the goddess may sooth the ruffled feathers of the angered dragon king, and move him to pour down streams of rain to save the dying crops. Potanin, who traveled in Kansu in 1884–1886 [*Tangutsko-tibetskaya okraina, tsentral'naya Mongoliya*, 334, 1893], notes a similar practice among the Monguors of San ch'uan, subjects of the Hsia-wu T'u-ssu, in order to obtain rain. Potanin, *ibid.*, 409, also notes the struggle against hail practiced among those Monguors by their shamans, but because his description fails to point to the building of mounds, the white tiger, Wu-tao-shen, etc., he seems not to have understood the core of the rites. (I am indebted to Father J. Spriet for the translation of these passages.)

[p. 102(B)]

erals, the heavenly warriors, the god of the wind, the 796
gods honored in the Monguor villages, then the spirits 756
honored in the private families of the village, the souls of the last three generations of ancestors of the villagers.[8] Every guest is ushered to his throne, greeted, and congratulated in the same way. The shaman has a gentle talk with each of them, while the audience prostrates itself in reverential silence. Finally, drum and cymbals are beaten and the shamans dance with feverish gusto, the dance of thanksgiving for the arrival of all the guests, in order to make them happy.

ENTERTAINMENT OF THE SPIRITS

Then follows the next act—making the spirits propitious and well disposed (*nan shen*). The shamans and the apprentices kneel in rows before the pole, with incense sticks in their joined hands in the same way as the audience. It is the most important and enjoyed moment of the day. It reveals the peculiar, but typical, religious frame of mind of shamans and Monguors. In the deepest and most solemn silence, the chief of the shamans starts talking with the spirits. He gives a detailed account of all the offerings displayed on the table and before the thrones of the gods—sheep, pig. "All these offerings are brought by the people who are kneeling before you . . . notwithstanding the fact they all had a hard time this year, they enjoyed spending that money for you. If it were possible, they would have given more . . . please enjoy their offerings. . . . You are their superiors, their chiefs, your power is unlimited. . . . All these people trust in you and are confident of you. . . . You came from so far, climbing high mountains, crossing dangerous rivers . . . in order to sit down for a while with them in this poor courtyard.

---

[8] A couple of facts already encountered reveal two principles [779
of the philosophy of the shamans concerning the duration of
the existence of the spirits and the human souls. Spirits are 776]
not eternal; they weaken and become exhausted and old and consequently fade away. The famous White Tiger on the old mounds became old and had to receive new invigoration; a typical fact will be recorded of the great spirit of one of the five great Obos of the country, which had become old and had to be rejuvenated. Spirits are not eternal; even the spirits of the statues become completely exhausted after three years, and every three years the shaman has to replace the exhausted forces with brand new ones.

The souls of the deceased of only the last three generations are honored and nurtured at the time of the rite of spring.
When illness is ascribed to malignant souls of the deceased, the [775
shaman, outside the courtyard, traces three small circles, and
one more expansive; food is placed in the three small ones to 765]
nurture the souls of the deceased ancestors of the last three generations only; in the big circle is placed food for the roaming alien souls. These facts reveal an articulate belief that souls of the ancestors last three generations only, and also that hungry souls are dangerous beings.

In old China the souls of the deceased kings after five generations, princes after three, nobles after one, lost their original protecting power and were relegated among those of the group to whom personal offerings were refused (H. Maspero, *Chine antique, op. cit.*, 186). They were already far on the way toward decaying and fading away.

in front of all the spirits invited the day before, talking 796 with them and asking for their protection upon the 756 village. The guardian of the temple, acting as representative of the whole village, kneels behind them with incense sticks in his joined hands, answering and repeating the prayers. The rite lasts for about an hour.

Around ten o'clock a lunch is served to the shamans and wine is poured in profusion. All the villagers, dressed in their festival best, flock to the temple to attend the ceremony of the possession of the chief of the shamans by the White Tiger spirit.

For a long time the shamans play and have fun. While the apprentices beat drums and cymbals, they [535] start dancing; they get excited, display all kinds of acrobatics; dance on their knees holding their heels in their hands; dance on their heads; turn cartwheels; keep whirling; jostle one another. They are stimulated to compete with one another in accomplishing the queerest eccentricities. It is not unusual for a couple to [578] get into a quarrel and start fighting and for one or another to fall down in a fainting fit.

When the excitement reaches fever pitch, the chief of the shamans exchanges his cap of the god of the Five Roads for the black cap with long tail. With his arm nude, the whip fixed into the collar, drum in hand, he starts a wild dance which lasts for a long time. He stops once in a while and cracks the whip. He takes threatening and aggressive attitudes, brawls loudly and indistinctly, and grins, distorting mouth and jaw bone. With his whole body writhing and supposed to be possessed by the White Tiger spirit, he cuts his arm [785] with a razor, making it bleed. The women rush to the shaman and apply paper to the wound. These papers are efficacious talismans for the protection of children, and are sewn on their clothes by their mothers. In former times, old Monguors said, potent shamans pierced their cheeks with an arrow and bent the blade of a sword predicting the future with wonderful accuracy, but today shamans can no longer do that. These rites are in line with the activities of Wu and shamans.[5]

GREETING OF THE GODDESS OF JOY

Around two o'clock the rite of *ying hsi-niang* is per- [776] formed, the meeting with, and the greeting of, the Goddess of Joy. This rite is purely shamanistic. The Chinese perform a similar but more quiet rite, on New Year's day, meeting and greeting the "spirit" of joy. Monguor youngsters like to imitate the Chinese and enjoy the same merriment. However, the real Monguor rite is the following one performed by the shaman:

On the large threshing floor of the village is placed a table with offerings. The villagers sit around the edges of the floor in order that the shaman may have room for the performance and the evolutions. All the shamans wear the black cap with long tail, and keeping

---

[5] De Groot, *op. cit.*, 1212.

[p. 109 (B)]

swer: the galaxy. Who walks on the milky way? Yu 796
Huang,[7] preceded by the green dragon and the White 756
Tiger. Under the bridge is there still another bridge
or not? The dangerous bridge leading to Hell, over [775]
which passes the king of Hell, Erlik, preceded by the
spirit with the head of a cow and the spirit with the
head of a horse, and where spirits are waiting, who
devour passing souls. What is our bridge? The bridge
of the spirits.

The building of the bridge of the spirits and the con- 796
fused explanations of the shamans, mixed with Taoist, 756
shamanist, and Bön principles, reveals, nevertheless, 772
the philosophy claiming the existence of three worlds: 779
the upper, middle, and lower worlds, each with its own
population.[8] A hint has already been given of this
philosophy, in describing the rite of the stretched goat
skin and the molding of clay figures, etc. At any rate
the bridge provides a wonderful opportunity for the
shamans to display their philosophical abilities and their
proficiency in the art of telling of the nine and more
heavens, one more beautiful than the other; the eighteen
hells, dark and terrifying; the severe judgments after
death presided over by Erlik or the Chinese Yen wang;
the explanation of the three souls; shamans flying on
drums to heaven, are unique occasions for story-tellers,
sparkling with wit, to reap big successes.

At that time, shamans never fail to explain the ap- 776
pointment of their ancestor shaman by Chiang Tze-ya 538
as servant of the god of the Five Roads; they never
fail to narrate captivating episodes from the epic of
Gesar. All kinds of problems are dealt with, and a lot
of fun is had. The most ridiculous answers are given
to the most ridiculous questions. One shaman asks for
the explanation of why in each wheat grain there is
always a small groove? The answer is that in the beginning of the world there was no wheat. Tengri made a wheat grain, but it seemed to be too big; with the nail of his right thumb he parted the grain in two parts. Still it seemed to be too big, and so he parted it again and then a third time. The fourth time, just when he was about to cut the grain in two parts again, it appeared to be all right without cutting through it, so he left the grain only half cut through, and so all grains of wheat have a little groove in them. This story was told to me several times by children who attended the meeting and said that the shaman told them so.

Another story, which gives us a better insight into 796
the nature of that kind of meeting, is told when a sha- 756
man is asked at what time and why men started seducing 831
women, and women started eloping? An interesting 773
sociological and moral question! Tengri wanted to
have men and women. After kneading red earth and
water a whole day, he moulded seven men; then he

---

[7] The most popular god of modern China who received letters patent from the Emperor in A.D. 1017. Wieger, *Textes historiques*, *op. cit.*, 1846.

[8] Hoffmann, *op. cit.*, 138. Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 125.

took straw, and with fine cord tied it in the shape of 796 seven women. The fourteen manikins were put in the 756 sun to dry into shape; the tengris went to sleep. Erlik, 831 chief of the underworld and antagonist of the Tengri, 773 made a terrific storm rage and one of the straw ladies finally blew away. When these thirteen figures came to life, one of the men was lacking a wife. Monguors enjoy this story and ask the shamans to tell it every year. Another of the big subjects dealt with at the meetings is that of bad dreams. Because the meetings often end in telling smutty and filthy stories, women in many villages do not attend the evening meetings. The shamans at that time compete with one another for winning the highest marks in that kind of virtuosity. Often the chiefs of the villages, when they invite the shamans, enjoin them not to go beyond certain limits.

When the meeting starts to drag, the chief of the 756 shamans makes preparations for the leave-taking of the 796 spirits. The shamans perform a dance, while the audience kneels. The shaman again enjoins the people to ask for benedictions. He has a last talk with the spirits, thanks them for the visit, reminding them of their promises, and invites them ceremoniously, one after another, to return to their splendid abodes calling them by the most pompous titles. Firecrackers are set off, and shamans dance; the people prostrate themselves and the spirits go back along the rope to their abodes.

While the shaman throws three handfuls of wheat and jujubes into the air, the people try to catch them, as they fall, in their skirts; they mix them with the seeds for next year. A hard pull on the rope fixed on the pole breaks the bag containing jujubes made with dough, coins, and peas. Everybody tries to grab a couple of them, for having been touched by the coming and going of the spirits they enjoy their celebrated magical power. Sick persons eat them in order to be healed, and women so as to become pregnant. The fork with the two rolls is unbalanced; the rolls fall and are picked up; they are reduced to crumbs and are panaceas against all kind of ailments.

NURTURING OF THE GODS OF THE TEMPLE

This rite is the last one and may be the most im- [776] ● portant. The shamans explain that the spirits in the 796 temples are to be nurtured once a year, in order that 756 they may be able to protect the village against hail. 782 Here the split personality of the Monguor shamans shows up in its crudest reality.

The shamans explain, and the Monguors strongly believe their explanation, that in former times a human sacrifice was urged every year by the spirits. Other shamans say that the sacrifice was needed only every seven years, in order to ward off hail, epidemics, epizootics, etc.* The present rite takes the place of the of Tibet. Chinese laws, and the presence of their 782 powerful enemies, the lamas, ready to harm their in- [832] stitution constrain them to act cautiously and to restrain their savage nature.

---

* This tradition, concerning the yearly human sacrifice demanded by the spirits, seems to point to the fact that in old

The rites against hail, performed after the rites just described, have been recorded in Chapter IX.

CULT OF THE MOUNTAINS

The cult of the mountains must be very old. It seems 795 not to have originated in Lamaism, and does not fit in the frame of its philosophy, but rather to have been accepted and ritualized by it to a very large extent.

Concerning the Monguors it has been noted, that the 175 Shat'o, like most of the Turkish tribes of Central Asia, 795 made sacrifices on top of the mountains and that the horse was their most important offering.[10] It is a fact of common knowledge that in old times the Mongols also honored the gods of the mountains. Chingis Khan lived in this atmosphere. Temuchin (Chingis Khan), in order to avoid a band of Merkits, galloped away to Mount Burkan Kaldun. Having escaped alive, he exclaimed, lifting his face to the sky: "Mount Burkan has protected my miserable life; henceforward, I will ever sacrifice to it and bequeath to my sons and grandsons the duty of sacrificing to it." [11]

The Monguors explain the cult of the Obos and of 795 the sacred hill of the village by asserting that the coun- 776 try between the Ta-t'ung and Hsining Rivers belongs to five powerful spirits or deities who reside on the tops of the five highest mountains of the country, where celebrated Obos are built for them. These spirits claim the worship of the people living on their territory, grazing herds and farming. They are kind to their worshippers, protecting their herds and fields, but they punish the unbelievers. "It is our duty to honor them," say the Monguors earnestly, "for if we were remiss in our duty we would surely court disaster."

These five spirits do not possess the entire territory in a group, but each of them is supposed to wield power over the country surrounding its own mountain. Consequently it receives offerings and worship only from the people living within its supposed circumscription.

Besides these five important mountain spirits, other less important ones are honored, mostly on the passes or on higher mountains. Their cult is not general, but is practiced only by the people living near the passes and by travelers.

In connection with this peculiar mentality about the 795 territory having its proprietors is to be noted the cult of 778 the sacred hill honored in each Monguor village, for in

---

[10] Eberhard, *Conquerors and rulers, op. cit.*, 91.

[11] Vladimirtsov, *The life of Chingis-Khan, op. cit.*, 29. H. G. Quaritch Wales, *The mountain of God*, A study in early religion and kingship, 7: 170, London, Bernard Quaritch, 1953: "Fundamentally the 'old Asiatic Religion' is the worship of the divinity of earth and its energies concentrated in some mountain and in the superhuman virtue of kingship." Reviewed by Clarence H. Hamilton in *Far Eastern Quart.* 13 (3): 370, 1954.

[p. 112(B)]

the same way the territory of the village is supposed to 795
have its owner who also resides on the sacred hill, not 778
on the highest mountain of the village. This spirit lays the same claims to thorough ownership over the village's fields and obligatory worship from its inhabitants.

The Monguors and Shat'o, descendants of old nomads, who used to honor spirits residing on the tops of the highest mountains and to recognize them as the proprietors of the entire country, were unable to get rid of this old trend of mind. They must have applied the same religious notions to the sacred hill of their villages when they exchanged their nomadic economy for the agricultural, and so the change of economy not only brought about adaptations in the field of their social organizations, but also in the field of their religion and cults.

It is common knowledge that the notion and cult of 795
a spirit proprietor of the earth are very old and wide- [170]
spread all over China also.[12] From the earliest times on, this spirit used to be honored in rudimentary shrines built in the fields by each farmer, and in a temple in each village, but the Monguors, old nomads, had to have a sacred hill and to have this spirit residing on top of a hill. Therefore, besides the cult of the five spirits of the five highest mountains, they practice the cult of the proprietor of the village on the sacred hill of the village. However, because the proprietor resides on a hill, they build a small Obo and plant a pole like that on the Obos built for the five big spirits. Several times I was told by Monguors that the cult of the sacred hill is the same as the cult of the earth god (T'u-ti-yeh) of the Chinese, and not the cult of a mountain spirit; that their earth god is the goddess Etogon; further, that the sacred hill is not the highest mountain situated in the boundaries of the village, but a hill or a notable elevation. Many villages do not have mountains inside their boundaries.

OBLIGATIONS TOWARD THE MOUNTAIN GODS

The behavior of the Monguors regarding the moun- [776]
tains and village gods seems to suggest that this cult is based on the principle of the ownership, the dominion of the country, by a god, and on the principle of its lordship over the people living on its territory. This dominion and lordship of the god is to be recognized by means of sacrifices and offerings.

The same frame of mind and philosophy concerning
these gods is encountered all over Asia[13] Buddha once [171]
enjoined his followers in India never to omit making an offering to the god of the spot where they were dwelling.[14]

In every lamasery of Huang-chung, therefore, is encountered a temple dedicated to the god of the spot oc-

---

[12] Maspero, *La Chine antique*, *op. cit.*, 204.

[13] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 598.

[14] de la Vallée Poussin, *Bouddhisme: Opinions et croyances*, 351 Paris, Beauchesne, 1909.

[p. 113 (A)]

A large part of the hog is instantly prepared for a 776
collective dinner, the remainder being divided in as 782
many parts as there are families in the village. Each family has to partake of the sacrifice and receive a piece of meat and one roll. The manager of the ceremony presides at the division, while shamans and apprentices each receive thirteen rolls and a piece of meat.

Planks are placed in rows in the temple yard and straw is spread on both sides of them. The audience sits down on the straw and starts dining and drinking. When the sun is about set and the dinner finished, the shamans beat the drums, the audience kneels, the chief of the village pours a last libation on the ground, throws some cypress leaves into the fire and sprinkles water. The pole is taken down while the audience prostrates three times. Paper banners and streamers and inscriptions, are burned in the fire. For that reason some Monguors call the rite "paper burning rite." The villagers go home and the next morning the shamans leave.

MEANING OF THE RITE

The rite is a genuine one of thanksgiving for the 776
harvest reaped, striking in its simplicity. Thanks are 782
given in the temple yard of the god who is the pro- 776
tector of the village—not to that god, but to "Old Father Heaven" only, as is said distinctly by the chief of the village. It has been noted before that "Heaven and all the spirits" are never honored inside temples or inside rooms, but always in the open air, in courtyards, on top of the roofs, on high mountains. Here is a case where, during the whole rite, the protector god of the village is not even mentioned, although the rite is performed in its own temple yard. The performance of the rite is perfectly in line with the general worshipping of "Heaven and all the spirits" as practiced by the Monguors. 776

An amazing fact is that shamans are invited to the 782
ceremony, but at the very moment of the performance
of the rite the chief of the village himself acts as sacri- [622]
ficer, as the representative and chief of the community, in the same way as we already noted that the chief of the family gives thanks on the roof of his house to "Heaven and all the spirits," offering the reeking rolls, steamed with the flour of the very first reaped wheat.
The role played by the shamans is, in fact, secondary, [756]
and seems to have no immediate connection with the rite, but rather with the rites of preventing hailstorms, which had been successful. The invitation t[illegible] shamans to participate at the rite appears, except for the fact of the planting and removal of the pole, to be an act of kindness and courtesy of the villagers toward the shamans for their happy achievement. The people give thanks themselves for the harvest reaped to "Old Father Heaven" alone, the "Old Father Heaven" who provided their subsistence.

But is this formula not borrowed from the Chinese, who use it under the same circumstances in all their

Khan included (for Chingis is a devoutly honored 795
deity), to the fire and to the Obo. The rite is per- 825
formed in private families by lamas. Stallions are con- 231
secrated besides other animals.[3] The tenets of the religion of the Mongols seem to be as confused as those of the religion of the Monguors.

The rite used to be performed by the Turks.[4] Marco
Polo, traveling through Turkistan on the way to Peking, [171]
notes the rites of the sacred animal—in this case a sheep.[5]

This rite is not to be confused with the well-known rite of the aspersion with milk of mares after the summer solstice. On an auspicious day the mares are milked and the milk is immediately mixed with sour cow's milk, so that it will become sour after a few minutes. This sour milk is thrown to the four points of heaven, with a wooden ladle, while prayers are said. The rite is performed in honor of all kinds of deities of Lamaism; all kinds of gods of heaven; of Chingis, his wives, his sons, and companions; to the spirits of mountains.[6]

CULT OF THE FIRE

A very old element of the old religion of the Turco- 372
Mongols is the cult of the fire, whose specific offer was 776
butter.[7] This cult had already existed in the arctic culture. "wir gehen wohl nicht fehl wenn wir wenigstens die Wurzeln irgendeine religiösen Feuer Kultus schon in die arktischen Urkultur eingesenkt lassen."[8] Fire is supposed to carry the offerings to the supreme deity.[9] It is one of the essential elements of the old religion of the nomads.[10] Among the Ch'i-tan, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, received considerable attention during winter.[11] Among the Ch'i-tan, the burning of big fire-wood was originally

---

[3] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore ordos, op. cit.*, 1 seq. Prof. Schuyler Cammann encountered in Ordos a sacred yearling camel wearing a necklace of sheep scapulas—it could never be ridden by man. *The land of the camel*, 167, New York, Ronald Press, 1951.

[4] Herman Vambery, *Das Turkenvolk*, 122, 1885.

[5] Yule-Cordier, **1**: 207, 1929.

[6] Mostaert, *op. cit.*, 315–322, 331. Father Mostaert also notes (*Monumenta Serica* **1**: 335, n. 19, 1935) that among the Mongols this rite, which is performed by laymen, is not specifically for Heaven but for all the Burkhans, Tengris, etc. The koumis (mare's milk) is cast from a ladle toward the four points of heaven; there is not a ladle-full for Heaven alone. This rite follows the summer solstice, by which time the colts have been born. It seems to be a thanksgiving rite, a rite of first fruits, specifically enacted for the reproduction of the horses. The Monguors, no longer having herds of horses, lack this rite.

[7] W. Koppers, Die Indogermanenfrage in Lichte der historischen Volkerkunde, *Anthropos* **30**: 23, 1935; W. Schmidt, *Ursprung* **10**: 70–76; **9**: 228–241, 534–535.

[8] Schmidt, *op. cit.*, **3**: 550.

[9] *Ibid.* **3**: 555.

[10] N. Poppe, Zum Feuerkultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major*, 136, 1925.

[11] Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, History of Chinese society, Liao, *op. cit.*, 214 and 239.

part of the investiture ceremony of the emperor.[12] During 372
the funeral ceremonies for the emperor, the new 776
emperor, facing the fire, made a libation and bowed thrice.[13] At the end of the year, in front of the hall (in open air), an offering of salt and sheep fat was made to the god of the fire by the shamans, and the emperor bowed twice before the fire.[14]

Butter was the original offering for the fire god among the Mongols and the Aryans.[15] Fire is worshipped among the Monguors in two ways: by fire in the open air, and fire on the hearth.

FIRE IN THE OPEN AIR

At marriages, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard 585
where the marriage rites are performed and the dinner 372
is served. The prostrations "to Heaven and to all the spirits" are made by the young couple in front of the fire. When the bride leaves the home of her parents a fire is built in the courtyard and speeches are made; the dinner is taken in front of the fire.[16]

During the celebration of the rite of the sixtieth birthday a big fire is built in the courtyard. First of all, at midnight on New Year's, a big fire is kindled in the courtyard and prostrations are given. The fire is not allowed to go out during the whole day, and this rite is performed before all the other rites.

In the temple yard of the village, the same rite is performed on New Year's in the same way. On the fifteenth of the first moon, a big cypress fire is kindled in the middle of the threshing floor, and small fires are built all around, over which men and women jump, singing, merrymaking, and making fun on stilts. During the whole performance of many rites enacted by lamas and shamans, very often a big cypress fire is kindled, as will be noted later.

MAGICAL POWER OF THE FIRE

Already the well-known Wei-sang has been noted, 372
which seems to be an offering diffusing fragrance in 789
honor of the spirits. It accompanies many rites. But fire is not only used to convey to the spirits the good feelings of the people, but often its magical power is expected to drive away evil spirits, even at the time of epidemics, epizootics, or when calamities intermittently harm the family.

When mourners return from funerals, they jump over [764]
a fire kindled at the entrance of the courtyard, so as not to be pursued and harmed by the souls of the deceased.

---

[12] *Ibid.*, 223, 239, 274.

[13] *Ibid.*, 279.

[14] *Ibid.*, 267-317.

[15] Poppe, *op. cit.* 142. Edward Washburn Hopkins, *op. cit.*, 106, Agni, the fire god in old Hinduism, is a mediator between god and man, carrying to Heaven the offerings (p. 445). The ram is the sacred beast of Agni, who is seen riding a ram (p. 449). At New Year's festival on the second day is the celebration of Agni.

[16] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, *op. cit.*, 42-71.

If, however, black and white rites do not work, the 372
Monguors call for the Taoist priest, who paints all the 789
items used (the wood, etc.), with a coat of goat blood. He binds the logs in a bundle by means of goat guts, and sprinkles goat blood upon the burning fire. The rite is called the "red Wei-sang."

These facts give evidence of the importance attached by the Monguors to the fire for purifying from uncleanliness and preventing harm caused by evil spirits. They show their devotion for the fire by having a big cypress fire kindled during the performance of religious rites and the most important moments of life, as at marriages or the celebration of the sixtieth birthday. However, fire does not only play an important role in the life of the Monguors in the open air; its role is as important in the private life of the families where it is worshipped under the form of the "fire of the hearth," the "hearth god."

THE HEARTH FIRE 795

Among the Monguors, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, 776
the cult of the hearth god belongs entirely to the department 372
of the women. Everywhere, the temple of the hearth god is the kitchen.

No wonder that the hearth god is supposed to be interested [842]
in a special way in the fecundity of the wives and the protection of the children, and that it is honored at fixed times by its own ritual.

FIRE AND FECUNDITY

When the Monguor bride arrives at the home of the 585
bridegroom, she does not prostrate herself before her 354
parents-in-law or before the guests, but is led straight 776
to the kitchen. Here she worships the god of the 372
hearth giving three prostrations, burning incense, offering a bottle of wine and her chopsticks, which she has brought with her.

It was noted in the first volume of this study that the youngest couple in the family always lives in the kitchen, where the god of the hearth is honored, because the Monguors say that in that way fecundity is assured. Women who have plenty of children and do not wish to have more will leave the kitchen and live in another room. It has been noted that, among the Mongols, the [428]
youngest son inherits his father's hearth, occupies his tent, and is called the prince of the fire.

When poor people cannot afford the luxury of a lavish marriage, nor invite guests, they marry the young couple in the kitchen "before the god of the hearth." The makeup of the new bride is done before the god of the hearth and not in the living room.[19]

An unusual practice relates to the fecundity assumed 842
to be bestowed on women by means of the cult of the 372
spirit of the fire (and of the god of the hearth). On 776
the fifteenth of the first moon, at night, on the edge of the big threshing floor of the village, a number of small heaps of cypress boughs are kindled. While musicians

---

[19] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen du Kansu*, 39.

beat drums and play mandolins, all the younger wives 842
and their husbands pursue each other, jumping over the 372
fire heaps, merrymaking. No wives or husbands would 776
miss this practice, for the tradition goes that it provides fecundity. However, the Yassa forbids jumping over the fire.[20]

Professor N. Poppe notes that among the Mongols the spirit of the fire is represented riding a he-goat, and that the he-goat is a symbol of fecundity, as Plano Carpini already noted.[21] This note of Professor Poppe evidences the existence of the fact that a relation existed between the fire god and fecundity in olden times. The Monguors seem not to know the existence of the god of the fire riding the he-goat, although they know that the hearth god secures fecundity. The hearth god also procures fecundity among the Buriats.[22]

FIRE AS THE PROTECTOR OF THE CHILDREN

The god of the hearth not only provides fecundity to 852
the daughters-in-law, but it protects their children. On 372
the second of the second moon is performed the rite of 776
consecration of the children to the god of the hearth. In the very early morning, before boiling water for washing and making tea, the mother roasts some handfuls of spelt in the cauldron and after them some handfuls of peas. Husband and wife spread them devoutly in the courtyard in front of the door. Then the elders clip some hair from the foreheads of the children under thirteen years of age, and cut the nails on their fingers. Hair and nail parings are carefully put in a cup and covered with a red cloth. The cup is placed before the picture of the hearth god and a copper coin placed on top of it. All members of the family prostrate themselves nine times, holding incense sticks in their joined hands, and the incense sticks are then fixed before the picture of the hearth god. On the twenty-fourth of the twelfth moon, at the time the god starts its journey to Heaven, the contents of the cup are burned in the hearth, together with the picture of the god. The Monguors explain this as the yearly rite of consecration of the children to the hearth god.

CULT OF THE HEARTH GOD

Rite at the End of the Year

The most important rites in honor of the spirit of 795
the hearth are performed at its departure for Heaven, 562
and at its coming back from Heaven, for so important 354
a benefactor must receive the highest honors possible, 776
and the most affectionate greetings. This is true all 782
over China. Men do not attend these rites.

The spirit of the hearth of the Chinese starts its journey to heaven on the twenty-third of the last moon of the year, on horseback or on a mule. The spirit of

---

[20] Schmidt, *op. cit.* 10: 73.

[21] Poppe, *op. cit.* 2: 135. See also n. 15, above, for Agni, the Hindu god, riding a ram.

[22] *Ibid.*, 301.

the Monguors starts its journey in the same way on the 795
twenty-fourth of the same moon. Before that day, 562
all daughters-in-law on holiday at their mothers' have 354
to be back, for the cult of the spirit is entrusted to the 776 ●
women. This rule is kept most rigidly. 782

At evening, after supper, the women don their makeup and put on their best dresses, while the children are clad in their New Year's dresses. Grandmother and the daughters-in-law and the children kneel before the image of the spirit, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The grandmother presents and puts in front of the spirit a boiled chicken and twelve rolls of steamed bread, and kindles the oil lamp. Prostrations are made and paper is burned in the oven. Then the participants, sitting on the floor chatting, recall the events of the whole year. When the lamp is nearly burned out, the offerings are removed. Some straw is spread in the oven, on which the picture of the spirit is placed. Twelve small bundles of hay, some peas (horses are fed with peas in the country), and three or four rolls are placed on the image, as well as the cup containing hair and nail parings of the children. The straw is kindled. The participants prostrate themselves and bow. The grandmother says: "Good deity, you know all that has happened in the family during the year; you know our deficiencies and shortcomings. Please do not tell about them when you arrive in Heaven, but rather, speak about our pitiable living conditions, our miseries, our afflictions, our poor cattle. Please come back soon. Do not linger in Heaven for too long a time, as we need you very much; we will wait for you on the thirtieth at midnight. Bring with you children for my daughters-in-law—boys are preferable to girls. Bring health for all of us; bring riches and wealth, and blessings for the cattle." If some member of the family becomes ill at that time, or if one of the daughters-in-law is childless, all these facts are entrusted to the spirit and put on its knees with confidence. The fire in the oven is extinguished, and the good spirit is on the way, enjoying his ride to Heaven.

This is one of the most intimate prayers the Monguors say in a group in the family. The same rite is performed among the Chinese in the same affectionate way and almost in the same terms, and it may be that the Monguors borrowed it from them.

The spirit of the hearth seems to be the envoy of Heaven, whose duty appears to be the supervision of the doings of the families. It seems to be very potent, for it is able to obtain in Heaven all kinds of blessings in behalf of its protégés.

The next day the wall is whitewashed and the kitchen is cleansed. On the thirtieth, at evening, a new image is pasted on the wall, in front of which is placed a chicken, four rolls, a lamp and incense sticks. At midnight, after the fire is worshipped in the courtyard, Heaven and all the spirits are honored on the roof, and the guardian deity in the living room. The family pros-

trates itself before the spirit of the hearth, congratulates 795
it, and is happy, for the spirit is supposed to have come 562
back at that very moment with a load of blessings. In 354
the early morning the elders will honor it also. 776

Several times I asked the Monguors whom the spirit 782
of the hearth was going to see in Heaven. The answer was always: "Our women claim, as do the Chinese, that the hearth god is going to see 'Old Father Heaven.' It is true that the spirits are everywhere, and the women know it; but on that night they say the same thing that the Chinese say."

Rites During the Year

Every time women prepare food, the first bowl is 782
always offered devoutly to the hearth god.

On the fifth of the fifth moon, steamed rolls, shaped like flowers, are offered to the spirit of the hearth, and willow boughs adorn its image. Nobody could explain the connection between the willow and the spirit of the hearth. (Is it a Chinese custom?)

It has been noted above that steamed rolls, prepared with the flour of the spelt of the new harvest, and a lamp kindled with the new oil of the year, are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the fifteenth of the eighth moon, rolls and a chicken are offered to the spirit of the hearth. On the eighth of the last moon of the year, a piece of ice is put before it. (Is this a Chinese custom?)

If a member of the family has been smitten with a severe disease, old people claim that the spirit of the hearth is angry and taking in ill grace the uncleanliness of the women for having let milk drip in the fire, or for having poured water on it and on the ashes, or for poking the fire with an iron rod. In that event, rolls, wine, and chicken are offered and prostrations are made. Sometimes a sheep is offered, and a lama is invited to pray in propitiation before the image of the spirit of the hearth.

When eyes are sore, or when there is trouble with scalp and hair, the spirit of the hearth has to play physician. Before the image, a red-hot stone is put in a pot of water in which aromatic leaves of wild mint are boiled. The sick man, after prostrating himself, bows over the pot and is steamed by the vapors and healed. The same rite is used to purify the sacred animal at New Year's.

It is noteworthy that the shaman is never invited by the Monguors to honor the fire or the spirit of the hearth, although once in a while a lama is invited to perform a propitiating rite. That department, like that of the sacred animal, seems to be foreign to them.

IMAGE OF THE HEARTH GOD

The old Monguors are accustomed to paste on the 776
wall a sheet of white paper. In the middle of the paper 354
is pasted vertically a short but wide yellow paper rib- 372
bon, under which is pasted, horizontally, a large red- 562
fringed paper ribbon, said to be the skirt of the spirit.

On both sides of the red skirt are pasted two small 776
yellow ribbons, said to represent the handkerchiefs of 354
the spirit. On the upper part of the sheet of paper is 372
pasted, horizontally, a large red, fringed strip of paper. 562

The skirt and the handkerchiefs are items belonging to women's dress, and consequently the spirit is supposed to be a female spirit. Some Monguors, when the whole primitive representation is finished, write on the yellow ribbon in the center: "Lord of the Hearth." Many Monguors no longer use this old representation of the spirit of the hearth, but instead, they buy a Chinese picture. After a few years it will be hard to find out to which sex their hearth god belonged.

According to the interesting study of Professor N. Poppe, based only on old fire prayers and hymns, the god of the fire among the Mongols is a female god, called "mother of the hearth," "mother of the fire," etc., but also "king of the fire," and even "mother king of the fire." The god of the fire possesses a big family consisting of seven girls and five boys and many servants. It is not clear why prayers and hymns are sung once for the king of the fire, and once for the lady.[23]

Among the Mongols, as among the Monguors, the most important act of honoring the god of the hearth takes place on the last days of the year. In the hymns, all kind of blessings are implored from the god of the hearth, who seems omnipotent.[24]

The Tibetans, from the oldest times on, also had their "god of the hearth" and their "queen hearth god." Both were very touchy concerning the smallest impurities thrown into the fire; a trifle could upset them.[25]

Among the Tungus, the spirit of the fire is an old woman, who stays in the fire of the family; fire is to be revered.[26]

It is interesting to record that, among the Chinese also, the sex of the god of the hearth is not definitely fixed. Father Doré, studying twenty-nine sources related to the subject, notes that eight describe it as female, while a few assert that the spirit is not a single person, but a real couple, husband and wife. The remainder claim the masculine sex for their spirit.[27]

In old China.

> *Chich* was the spirit of the hearth, wearing red clothes and having the appearance of a beautiful woman. [*Chich* means chignon.] It is strange that the spirit of the hearth has a female appearance. Confucius is reported to have said that the cult of the hearth is a cult of old ladies. There is a difference between the spirits of the hearth and of the fire; the last one is a male spirit, and the first a female, which is assimilated with the first woman cook.[28]

---

[23] N. Poppe, Zum Feuer Kultus bei den Mongolen, *Asia Major* 2: 133, 1925.

[24] *Ibid.*, 140.

[25] Hoffman, *op. cit.*, 169.

[26] Shirokogoroff, *op. cit.*, 128.

[27] H. Doré, *Recherches sur les superstitions en Chine*, Part 2, 2: 901, Shanghai, Sikawei. See also *Li-ki*, Couvreur, 1: 554. Ho Kien fu, 1899, Mission Catholique.

[28] M. Granet, *Danses et legendes de la Chine ancienne*, 308, Paris, Alcan, 1926.

[p. 123(A)]

The bewilderment concerning the sex of the god of 776
the hearth and its social position is astonishing. Some- 354
times the god seems to be a married couple, sometimes 372
a single female, or a single male. The traditional pic- 562
ture made by the Monguor women themselves offers a definite solution concerning the sex of "their" hearth god. The traditions concerning the fecundity attached to it seem connected with the Mongol king of the fire riding a he-goat, nothwithstanding that the Monguors are unable to give any reason for this connection, and do not know anything about the existence of this he-goat rider. Maybe the solution of the puzzle is to be sought in the suggestion of Granet, that two spirits are involved, the spirit of the fire which is a male, and the god of the hearth which is a female.

OFFERING TO HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS

THE FAMILY OFFERING AFTER THE HARVEST 776

After the spelt is cut, some sheaves are immediately 782
carried home and threshed. The grain is ground on the 795
stone, which is cleansed carefully. The women steam thirteen rolls of bread made with the newly ground flour. All members of the family climb on top of the roof in their best dresses and kneel, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. The chief of the family lifts up to Heaven the salver with the thirteen steaming rolls and shouts three times, at the top of his voice, the usual "*Mtchioo*" and "Heaven and all the spirits." The whole family prostrates itself thankfully for the new harvest. Crumbs of bread are thrown to the four points of the compass. The Monguors say that the crumbs must be thrown in this way in order to feed the roaming, hungry, malignant spirits of the deceased, who always are on the prowl to harm the people.

The family comes down and offers the same rolls to the guardian spirit of the family, and to the spirit of the hearth, and then the whole family eats the rolls steamed with the new flour of the year.

In autumn, when linseed and colza seed are cut and the new oil is pressed, the same rite is performed with the new oil. A lamp with the new oil is kindled on the roof of the house with the usual prostrations and shoutings, another is kindled for the guardian spirit of the family, and another for the spirit of the hearth. The Tibetans in the country perform the same rite and the Chinese do also, but the Chinese thank only the "Old Father Heaven" and not "Heaven and all the spirits."

THE OFFERING OF THE SHEEP

It has been noted above that whenever a sheep is offered to a deity in the family, first of all a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown in the court yard for "Heaven" separately, with shouts of "Heaven" and no more; that a second piece is cut and thrown in the same way, with a shout of "all the spirits," and that

[p. 123 (B)]

after this rite is performed the sheep is offered to the 776
guardian deity of the family. The Ordos Mongols 782
perform the same rite for "Heaven" only, when for a 795
dinner a whole sheep is presented in its entirety to the
guest.[29]

CALENDAR OF RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES 796

At home, at midnight on New Year's, while the old parents are still sleeping, the family starts kindling a big fire, with wood and cypress boughs, in the courtyard before the sacred pole for "Heaven and all the spirits," and prostrates itself three times. The fire is not allowed to go out the whole day. On the roof of the living room, or in the courtyard before the pole, offerings are put on a small table: rolls of bread steamed or baked in oil, raisins, butter, wine. Holding Chinese incense sticks in their hands, the family prostrates itself nine times, crying: "Heaven and all the spirits protect us during the whole year." They sprinkle some wine to the cardinal points and throw out some crumbs of bread for hungry malignant souls. Then they bring the offerings down from the roof in order to perform the same rite with the same offerings before the guardian deity of the family, the spirits of the fire, the pole, the hearth, the gate, and the stables, and fix a Chinese incense stick before each of them. At dawn the elders, upon arising, enact the same rite in the courtyard for "Heaven and all the spirits." At evening, from the first until the fifteenth of the first month, a lantern is hung on the pole in the courtyard, sticks of incense are fixed at the door, and the whole family prostrates itself every day before the door and pole saying. "We prostrate ourselves for Heaven and all the spirits and the spirit of the door and of the pole.[30]

Before sunrise, several pieces of ice are put on top of the walls of the courtyard of the families in which no persons have died during the year.

After the elders finish their worshipping, they sit on the k'ang in order to receive the congratulations of the family. The eldest son presents them with a cup of wine, and the family prostrates itself nine times. The daughters-in-law make three prostrations to their husbands, and the youngest brothers and sisters prostrate themselves before the eldest three times, and then before each other in the same way. Then follows the traditional speech of the grandfather, well known over the country: "Rise early in the morning, work till late at night, tend the herds carefully, and spend your full energy on the fields, and all live peacefully together and forgive each other's shortcomings and deficiencies. I hope that Heaven and all the spirits will bless you, in order that you may build seven farm houses several stories high, may shear the wool of hundreds of sheep, bow and arrow and quiver. The members of each 796 family kneel at the door and prostrate themselves, holding incense sticks in their joined hands. At the return of the spirit, the chief of the village and the elders wait for it in the temple yard and congratulate the spirit and thank it for its kindness and blessings. On a table are placed three triangular *torma,* five balls of dough, adorned with some butter, and a bottle of wine. The chief of the village rubs some butter on the face of the spirit, and on the faces of the carriers and the guardian. Then the faces of the carriers are powdered with flour, and a ball of dough is pressed into their mouths. Wine is drunk and the spirit re-enters the temple.

---

[29] F. A. Mostaert, *Folklore Ordos*, 489: 590, Peiping, 1947 (Monograph 11 of *Monumenta Serica*).

[30] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 625, *Das Neujahrsfest*, gives more details about New Year's.

On the fifth of April the ancestors of the clan are worshipped in the old clan cemetery followed by races and the clan assembly. Three days before, they honor their ancestors in their private cemeteries. A few days later, in all the villages, is enacted the shamanist rite of spring, as has been noted, and the rites against hail.

The twenty-ninth of the fifth moon and the sixth and the twenty-ninth of the sixth moon are days for the young folk to make merry in most of the villages. There is singing and dancing and some villages have races and wrestling.

In the sixth moon the spirit of the Obo is honored, and at the foot of the mountain a big crowd enjoys races.

In the eighth moon the Monguors honor the moon just as the Chinese do.

In the ninth moon the thanksgiving rite for the harvest is performed in the temple. A few days later Chinese performers are invited to give a puppet show for several nights in the village. If the three festivals given at the lamaseries every year be added to these as well as the distractions afforded by marriages, funerals, the celebration of birthdays, and the worshipping of the goddess of the hearth at the end of the year, an idea can be gained of the calendar of religious activities and distractions during a whole year in the Monguor society.

XII. PRIVATE RITES PERFORMED WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF RELIGION

THE CULT OF FAMILY DEITIES

776
342

It is a fact of common knowledge that "the earliest obtainable reports about the popular religion of the Mongols invariably speak about the images of house gods, placed on stands at both sides of the entrances of their tents. They believed that these gods took care of their flocks . . . , that they were the protectors of the family and of its wealth." They were called "Ongghot."[1] This custom of honoring house gods was very old and general. The Monguors, when they settled in the country of Huang-chung, were addicted to this ancestral tradition and continued its practice, for today in every courtyard there is encountered a guardian deity 776 of the family. 592

---

[1] W. Heissig, A Mongolian source to the Lamaist suppression of shamanism in the 17th century, *Anthropos* 48: 511, 1953.

[p. 125(A)]

SPIRITS HONORED IN THE FAMILIES—PECULIAR CONCEPT

The Monguor concept of the deities honored in the 776 families is very peculiar. Once a family starts wor- 428 shipping a deity, its cult must be continued forever in 782 that family, for fear that the deity, if evicted, might loose 592 its avenging bolts of calamities and disaster, and the long train of miseries would never stop.

According to this conception, at the time of dividing the paternal inheritance the eldest son inherits the cult of the deity previously honored by the father. The duty to continue the old family cult falls upon him. His younger brothers, however, are free to make a choice among all the available deities of Taoism, of Lamaism, even of the Twelve Tengris of the shamans, and to start their newly founded families with a new guardian deity. Every two ar three years all the brothers must still convene in the house of the eldest, to attend a rite celebrated for the old family deity and to contribute to the expenses of the celebration. The tie which binds them to the cult of the old family deity is so strong, that in the event a great calamity overcomes one of the brothers, notwithstanding the fact that he honors his own deity, he will invite all his brothers to worship the old family deity at the home of the eldest brother. The old family deity which had been honored for so many generations is still supposed to harbor in its heart a predilection for all those who honored it. The old Monguor, Li San-ming, told me this in Li chia t'an in 1914, the day after his brothers had worshipped the old family deity at his home.

The fervent cult of the guardian deity of the family is 688 a characteristic of the Monguor family. No Kuang-li 776 of Naring Valley told the story of a poor old widower, 592 Li ssu, living in the village of P'irke in 1908, who could hardly make both ends meet, and who had inherited from his father the picture of Twelve Tengris with the Black Tiger rider of the shamans, which he did not honor. Every time the villagers of P'irke took ill they went to the home of the old man, to honor and to propitiate the spirits, because a certain shaman had said that all the misfortunes occurring in the village were caused by these spirits, who took with bad grace the neglect of the old man. The extremely shy old man tried to make a living out of these circumstances and, stubborn as a mule, he would not allow anyone to honor the spirits in his home, as long as the villagers would not provide for his livelihood, for he knew the villagers were sick with apprehension. But the villagers, as stubborn as he, honored the spirit behind his house, burning incense there.

After his death, his only married daughter, living in the village of Li chia t'ai, inherited his poor house. The villagers of P'irke, having lived under the threat of

[p. 125(B)]

the spirits for so long a time, urged her husband to take 688
with him the fateful picture. The villagers of Li chia 776 ●
t'ai, however, did not allow him to introduce the ill- 592
boding spirits into their village. At night the son-in-law buried the picture in a deserted, ruined house in P'irke. After one or two years the fact became known. The wrath of the P'irke villagers was great enough to bring suit against Li ssu, but the court of Li T'u-ssu ordered the defendant to defray the expenses of inviting twelve shamans (for they honor the twelve spirits) in order to conciliate the spirits, to repair the outrage, and to offer a sheep, incense, and oil. After the preparations were performed, the shamans took with them the picture,[2] and firecrackers were set off. This fact illustrates the peculiar attitude of the Monguors concerning the duty of continuing the cult of the deities honored by the ancestors.

MOST SPIRITS ARE TAOIST

Since nearly every family has an uncle or a son who 771
is a lama, it would seem obvious that most of the deities 776
honored in the families should belong to Lamaism—all the more so because in nearly every valley there is a big or a small wealthy lamasery, and Lamaism reached the highest peak of glory with its celebrated Hutukhtus two centuries ago. However, it seems not to be so. The number of families honoring a Lamaist guardian deity is far smaller than of those honoring Taoist deities, and even the twelve spirits with their black tiger rider of the shamans. This astonishing fact requires an explanation.

The Monguors are a practical people. At the feast of spring, when the shamans invite spirits to come to the temple along the rope, no Lamaist deities are invited, and none arrive. The shamans honor their Tengris and the Taoist spirits, and combat the hail scourge by help from all of them. Honoring at home the same spirits which are honored in the temple of the village will provide more security for their worshippers against the dreaded hail, so most of the Monguors prefer at home the cult of these deities honored by the shamans, who are considered to be more powerful and more expert in this field than the lamas.

The reasons for the Monguor preference for non- 771
Lamaist protector deities, explain why they adopt Taoist 776
or shamanist spirits. It was always said that "Heaven" 592
is never honored as a family spirit. However, in the families, there are encountered the cults of the spirits of the mountain, the earth, the five roads, the dragon king, the mother gooddess, the horse king, and the cow king. The temples of the villages are dedicated to the same spirits. Some families honor the Twelve Tengris of the shamans with the tiger rider. However, most of the Monguors, at the time of the division of the extended family, when they have to choose a new family

---

[2] Sandschejew, *op. cit.*, 603. Among the Alar-Buryats, images of family deities must be removed by the shaman who honors the deity.

guardian deity do not like the cult of the twelve Tengris, 771
although these are considered the most potent protectors 776
among the spirits. The reason alleged is that these 592
spirits are very touchy and do not allow any lukewarmness in their cult and frequently during the year they urge the offering of a sheep. Therefore, the families which honor them are all families which continue a cult initiated generations ago.

However, families whose children are weakly like to dedicate them for thirteen years to the Twelve Tengris, and after thirteen years perform the rite of liberation from the dedication, and nurture the rooster of longevity. (See Part I: 102–103.)

There still exists an unusual custom concerning the cult of the Twelve Tengris for which I never found an explanation. It is customary that the images of guardian deities should be hung on the northern wall in the living room. The image of the Twelve Tengris, however, is never hung, but is kept rolled up during the whole year and put on the offering table along the wall. Only on the first of the first moon, at New Year's, is it hung for three days, and all the members of the families who, before the division of the extended family group, honored these Twelve Tengris and at present honor other deities as their protectors, are bound to come during these three days to worship the Twelve Tengris of their ancestors.

Another emotional but important reason for preferring the cult of a Taoist deity is that the families enjoy more the rite celebrated by the shaman at home for a Taoist family deity, than the rite performed for a Lamaist family deity. The lamas do not in fact honor the ancestors. They recite texts for one or seven days, make a *torma*, and the monotonous and tedious rite is finished. Because an emotional element governs the choice of the family deity, an outline of the shamanist rite will best explain what is involved.

CULT OF THE FAMILY GUARDIAN DEITY

The biennial or triennial rite is performed in the 795
eleventh month. On the first day of the celebration, 756
the same preparations are made by the shamans and 782
their apprentices as at the feast of the spring in the 592
temple of the village, but on a more reduced scale, in- 776
cluding pasting of banners and streamers, planting of the pole, binding of the rope, baking and steaming of rolls, offering of sheep, thrones for the ancestors, the hearth god, spirits of the horses, the gate, and for the protector spirits of each of the families of the brothers.

At midnight "Heaven and all the spirits" are worshipped in the courtyard by the whole family. Firecrackers are set off. On the morning of the second day the spirits are invoked and come down along the rope. Among them are the gods of the hearth, the granaries, the stables, the doors, the grindstone, the fertilizers, the well, the horses, the cows, and the last three generations of ancestors. There are the usual prostrations, incense, and libation for the throne of the ancestors. The spirits are greeted and the offerings enumerated. The shaman holds a long dialogue with the ancestors, asking whether they are happy and will protect the descendants, and makes promises. The whole group enjoys sitting before the gods and the ancestors. The rite of the greeting of the Goddess of Joy and all the performances connected with it are omitted, but at evening follow the lighting of the lamps, the making of the bridge, and the departure of the spirits. 795 756 782 592 776

The spirits remain only one day. At night no soul is taken outside the courtyard to nurture the spirits, but during a last wild dance the chief of the shamans jerks off the head of a chicken and the guardian deity of the family is nurtured with its reeking blood. The head of the chicken is put under a box for seven days, the pole is taken down, and jujubes are gathered. After the shamans leave the courtyard, the fire in the hearth is not allowed to die out for seven days, and for seven days no guests or friends are admitted. No food is given to anybody, not even to beggars, no items are loaned out, no animals are sold, and the animals sold before that time are not allowed to be led away. However, things from outside may be accepted and brought into the courtyard.

The real nature of the feast celebrated by the shaman in honor of the family deity consists, it is clear, in honoring the guardian deity of the family and all the spirits presiding over the various departments of the household, together with the ancestors. It seems to be a heterogeneous party in which spirits and ancestors and the members of the present generation participate. The climax of the feast, however, is the entertainment of the ancestors, who are believed to be present in the courtyard, happy to look upon their descendants and disposed to extend their protection over them. The shaman is believed to see the ancestors, hear them speaking, know their intimate feelings, their desires for offerings and their good dispositions, and his dialogue with them is so animated as to give the participants hallucinations and make them happy.

New Catholic converts, talking about this feast, always recognized that before their conversion they enjoyed the entertainment with the ancestors very much, but they never alluded to the presence of the spirits at the feast. Children of new converts often had interesting discussions at school with children more proficient in the doctrine concerning the shaman who had seen their ancestors and heard them speaking, but they never spoke about the other spirits present at such times. 795 776

The feast of the family guardian deity seems in fact to have become a feast honoring the ancestors at home. This delight in the presence of the ancestors is not confined to the Monguors. It is interesting to note the similarity of the rite of the invocation of the spirits of departed heroes, which still delights the Ordos Mongols. 592 776

[p. 127(A)]

755 spirit from escaping, the foe is searched for in all the nooks and corners of the rooms and stables. A terrible struggle with it is engaged in with swords and whips. It is tortured and finally driven away to a crossroad at night, with the help of the neighbors firing guns. These rites have been described hundreds of times.

Some of the answers supplied by the spirits of the staff to shamans and lamas concerning the causes of mischief and calamity among the Monguors are worthy of notice.

776 755 The goddess, sitting in the imposing sedan chair in the middle of the temple of the village, receiving the worshipping villagers and smelling the incense smoke, is, none the less, in an ill mood and bad tempered, because, like many of her sex, being fond of a new piece of clothing, she wants a new mantle. The shaman says: "She has worn the mantle for five or more years; its color has faded; it has been mended so many times by the thrifty villagers, that really, she can hardly keep it on her shoulders; she is ashamed to be greeted and approached by people who are better clad than she. Give a fine new mantle to your goddess and the disease will vanish." Or it is said that the goddess, while visiting the god Erh-lang, had lost her earrings which must be replaced.

755 Once it was the deity honored by the family in the living room which resented the family's neglect and disregard of it. An act of propitiation had to be performed and a sheep or goat offered in reparation. Once it was the shadow of a deceased member of the family which passed over the sick, eager to take with it another member of the family. Once it was the Twelve Tengris, weak and starving for lack of being nourished by a sacrifice during many months, who drastically urged a sacrifice. Once it was the case of a spell cast upon the sick by a fiendish neighbor. A solution has to be found for all such cases, using one of the means noted above.

The following should be noted for its philosophical interest. When the shadow of a deceased is supposed to have caused the disease, the shaman, having made a straw manikin and transfixed it with the dagger, and pulled it burning outside the courtyard, traces outside the gate three small circles and one bigger in size. He pours in each several cups of noodles and tea. The food in the three small circles is intended to feed the ancestors of the three immediate senior generations of the sick man, and the food in the big one is intended for the roaming alien souls. Ancestors of no more than three generations are fed, because those of older generations are supposed to have vanished. The same custom has been noted at the feast of the Spring.

SPIRITS EXPELLED FROM THE VILLAGES

783 Not only individual families are supposed to be harmed by evil spirits. The entire village may be haunted by spirits, and so every year in wintertime the

with silk flags, to look at the hundreds of measures of 772
grain put into the chair, the hundreds of pounds of 685
sugar and raisins, the hundreds of rich garments, and 782
the herd of sheep which follows the chair (for the few 556
pieces of meat are called a "herd of sheep"), and so on, for the other items. They implore it to look at the unusual prodigality of the customer, who is a fervent adherent of the faith. After the parody is played, the lamas have a good time visiting the neighbors. On the seventh day, at night, all the neighbors help escort the troublesome spirit outside the village, forming an imposing cortege with banners flying and drums, horns, and some rifles, and carrying the sedan chair, the caldron and bull head, the spears and swords. The lamas blow the trumpets made from a human femur. The bull head, spears, and swords are buried in a deep hole; a big fire is lit and the pit is filled, at full speed, flush with the ground. The stake is thrust into it; the whole group howls and curses the avenger, rifles are fired, trumpets blown, and the lamas return. The sedan chair is emptied by the neighbors. Restitution is thus made, the avenging spirit is appeased and thrust into the hole, and the thief remains possessor of his thievery.

A rich man, Lo san lao, who lived in Ha-la-chih 425
Valley, had succeeded in bringing to his home the fine 782
young lady of the poor Monguor Li sse of Naring 789
Valley. Calamities then troubled his family, and he invited Yellow lamas to perform the rite. They placed in the sedan chair a fine paper lady. The rite of the caldron and bull head was carried out, and the avenging spirit was thrust into the hole. Restitution was thus made by means of a paper lady, but he remained the possessor of the real one.

After many years this rite as performed by Red [792]
lamas, invited by the famous Sumpa Hutukhtu in order to compensate for the injustices perpetrated by his intendants, is still talked about in the country. The splendid sedan chair was on this occasion lavishly filled with precious items. A beautiful horse which followed the cortege was abandoned for the neighbors. After the bull head had been buried and the avenging spirit thrust into the hole, hundreds of people had tried to capture the horse.

The claims of justice are deeply embedded in the 181
consciousness of the people, and the necessity of restitution for injustices is always advocated by the lamas, although the magical rite of restitution seems to be a mockery of its real intent. Justice seems to rank first among the virtues.

In connection with this peculiar mentality concerning 776
the spirit who is the avenger of injustices is to be noted 425
the cult of the Sturlong spirit. This spirit is supposed to guard the wealth of the family with ruthless severity. It does not allow anything of value belonging to the family which honors it to be taken away. It is honored as a family deity, mostly among the Monguors of the

Seerting group, but also among some families living in 776
the Hung-nai and Ha-la-chih Valleys. It is said that 425
long ago an old lama of Sung-chan-i (P'ing-fan hsien) introduced the cult of this spirit in the country. It has only one eye in front, and its image is honored not in the living room but behind the entrance gate of the courtyard. Many Monguors do not like to marry their daughters into families where this spirit is honored, and those who honor it are afraid to get rid of its cult, for fear of calamities. The spirit notices all visitors and watches to see whether some evil intent is not lurking behind the visit. It is said that when an undesired guest lingers waiting for dinner, Sturlong causes him tremendous intestinal troubles so that he has to run [753
away. At the time when the dowry for a girl of the 574]
family is discussed, and the head of the family suggests that the part required by the lord of the family is not yet fixed, the go-betweens understand the hint and promise a goat for Sturlong. On the wedding day, a few moments before the bride will leave, a goat is set before Sturlong who avidly devours its prey and does not notice the bride leaving. At the time an animal is to be sold, its price is discussed not at the home of the proprietor but outside the courtyard, in order to avoid Sturlong knowing about it.

Still another spirit is honored, which steals in be- 776
half of the families that honor it. Its cult is practiced especially in the Hung nai Valley. The Chinese call it *Mao-kui-shen* "cat spirit." It is a male spirit for which young women prepare a blanket at night, and which they "serve." On the tenth moon it steals grain and brings it to the granaries of its devotees. If guests arrive unexpectedly at noon and the food prepared is not sufficient, it is so potent that it can add food enough for all the guests by unknown means. When thieves come at night, it spirits away the things they intend to steal. However, it cannot steal Chinese coins, because Chinese characters are stamped on them; it cannot steal cloth in behalf of its devotees, because on both ends of a piece of cloth are printed the brands of the fabric. It cannot take things out of a closet which is tightly closed, but when the door is open it takes what it needs. It likes to drink liquor. A young woman poured liquor for it, one cup after another, until the cup remained full. In the blanket she found a drunken
cat, which her husband killed. These tales resemble [171]
those recounted by the Mongols, concerning the well-known fox-spirit.[12]

---

[12] Here should be noted the very interesting study of F. A. Oberle, S.V.D., dealing with a similar frame of mind, with practices, some similar and some differing, encountered among the Tibetans of the region of Kui-te, 200 *li* south of Hsining on the right bank of the Yellow River, and among a group of Tibetans living 60 *li* west of Hsining called Chia-hsi-fan by the Chinese, i.e., Tibetans living in houses in contrast to the Tibetans living in tents. However, I never heard the Monguors explaining the rites performed against the avenger of the family wealth, suggesting the avenger having the appearance of a "Hundekopfdämon," an evil spirit with a dog head. See

[p. 131(B)]

7

carried to the burying spot by the shamans, running at 766
a fast pace. Paper is burned with the flags and inscriptions, while the shamans prostrate themselves holding incense sticks in their joined hands. After the pit has been filled, each shaman carries three buckets of water and pours them on it. Then they build the small tumulus and return home, running without looking back at the tomb. They have a breakfast of noodles, without meat. All together they make a terrifying noise and drive the evil spirits out of the home. Except for the members of their own families and relatives, no other people attend the burial, because they are afraid of the magicians.

XIV. CULT OF HEAVEN

THE MEANING OF THE FORMULA "HEAVEN AND ALL THE SPIRITS"

Several times in the present study there has been 789
noted the stereotype formula, "Heaven and all the 772
spirits," used during the performance of religious rites. Monguors in their own language are accustomed to saying *"Tiengere uluon purgan"* meaning "Heaven and all the spirits," and even *"Sge Tiengere uluon purgan,"* that is "Great Heaven and all the spirits."

Because "Heaven" is always invoked in conjunction 772
with "all the spirits," it seems obvious that Heaven is 776
considered by them to be a being, belonging in the category of the living spirits, and that it is not supposed to be the material sky.[1]

At present, the Monguors call all the spirits Tengri or 776
purgan.[2] The shamans serve their Twelve Tengris and many families honor the Twelve Tengri as the family protectors. The Obo spirit, the earth goddess, Lung wang the dragon king, Wu tao, the goddess of children, are all called Purgan and Tengri. However, when speaking about a definite spirit, they call it by its proper name. The Obo spirit is called Yifula, the goddess of the earth, Etogen, the god of the rain, Lung

---

[1] Professor N. Poppe, in reviewing W. Schmidt's *Der Ursprung der Gottesidee, Bd.* X in *Anthropos,* **48**: 328, 1953, notes: "Should tengri be understood as Heaven or God. . . . I think this question can be answered in favour of the word God." He adds: "No matter what the exact meaning was in the usage of the pagan Mongols of the 13th and 14th centuries," its equivalent in the official translation into the languages spoken by Christian peoples was "Deus" or "God." Schmidt, in reviewing N. Pallisen's *Die alte Religion des Mongolischen Volkes wahrend der Herrschaft der Tschingisiden* in *Anthropos* **48**: 623, 1953, notes: "Pallisen stellt fest, dass zunächst Gotthimmel als Eigenname bedeutete, dann aber zum Gattungnamen Gott wurde. . . . Zuverlässige Nachrichten über Himmel als Schöpfer in der Religion der Mongolen des 12 und 13 jhdt. liegen night vor." (The word *Purgan,* it should be noted, is the Monguor form of the word more familiar in its standard Mongol form, *Burkhan.*)

[2] Concerning the word Purgan, see Francis Woodman Cleaves, The Bodistw-a Cari-a Awatar-un Tayilbur of 1312 by Cosgi Odsir, *Harvard Jour. Asiatic Studies* **17**: 91, note 29; and 100, note 118, 1954.

[p. 149(A)]

wang, the god who protects against hail, Wu tao. Although 776 ● they are accustomed to saying that all the spirits are Tengri and Purgan, they seem to prefer to use the term Tengri. *Purgan* seems to be a relatively recent term, introduced after Lamaism had been spread among them, for they seem to prefer "Purgan" when speaking about gods of Lamaism. However, they always say that "*uluon purgan*" means all the spirits, and not only the Lamaist deities.

Because in the formula "*Tiengere*," often "*Sge Tiengere*," "Heaven," "Great Heaven" are always used first, it is obvious that the "spirit of Heaven" seems to be prominent among the spirits in the mind of the Monguors. This prominence of Heaven is shown by the Monguors in a very conspicuous way at the time when a sheep is offered to the guardian spirit of the family, by the fact that, first of all, a piece of the skin of the forehead is cut and thrown toward Heaven in the courtyard, with the cry, "Heaven." Then a second piece is cut and thrown in the courtyard with the cry, "All the spirits," and finally the sheep is offered to the guardian deity. It is shown also at the time of the offering of a sheep to the Obo spirit on top of the mountain, when three ladles of broth are thrown in the air—first, for "Heaven," and then, consecutively, three ladles to each [823] of the four points of the compass for all the spirits, "*Uluon purgan*."

However, is it permitted, on account of this striking 771 prominence, to jump to the conclusion that the "spirit 776 of Heaven," or "Great Heaven" is a monotheos, and that the Monguors of 1910–1920 were monotheists? Monotheists are considered as worshipping but one God. People who worship and offer sacrifices to Heaven and all the spirits are consequently considered polytheists, no matter how prominent the "spirit of Heaven" may be.

Does this formula justify the conclusion that the "spirit of Heaven" is the chief of all the spirits, whom they all have to obey; that the "spirit of Heaven" alone administers the departments both blessings and punishments, and that the "spirit of Heaven" is omnipotent?[a]

When I asked the Monguors about the abode of the 772 spirits, they always pondered for a few moments, as if they did not understand the meaning of my question, and then they answered: "Of course the spirits are everywhere." Indeed it seemed obvious, in view of my European frame of mind, to interpret the expression, "Heaven and all the spirits" as meaning that all the spirits enjoyed happiness together in Heaven with their supreme chief, the great spirit of Heaven. However, the Monguors assured me that the spirits are independent of one another, and independent of the spirit called Heaven; that each of them administers its own department, and that they all know the intimate feelings and behavior of the people toward them and bless or punish accordingly. Therefore, the Monguors are afraid to [782] offend any of them and propitiate the spirit they are

---

[a] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217. [p.149 (B)]

supposed to have offended. It is for that reason that 772
during the rite of spring all the spirits are invited by 782
the shamans to come down along the rope to be honored by the villagers so that all of them may extend their protection.

In the Halachih Valley, among subjects of the Lu 776
T'u-ssu, I encountered the following case. At the time 428
of division of a parental inheritance, a son considered that the decision made by the elders of the village was unjust toward him, and at the very moment when he should have appended his signature, he ran into the courtyard, pencil in hand, crying toward the sky: "Twelve Tengris, protectors of our family, you know that the division is unjust, that I am compelled to apply my signature." Then he entered the room and signed. In such circumstances the ultimate recourse of every Chinese would inevitably be to invoke "Old Father Heaven" and never another spirit.

Carpenters, building a temple in Sumdoo, having 776
had trouble with the chief of the tribe, proposed to go 466
to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to take the oath before the statue of Buddha. The chief answered, "No need to go so far, take the oath here, Buddha is everywhere; he will know it."

The belief that all the spirits are everywhere, know 776
all things, bless and punish independently, and that they are just and equitable, is deeply ingrained in the minds of the Monguors of today. It is easy to understand that in a society in which each department is administered by a particular spirit, independent and omnipotent in its sphere, little room is left for the activities of the "spirit of Heaven"; that finally "Heaven," the "Great Heaven," occupies a role of honorary dimensions and nominal importance, and the characteristics and activities of the "spirit of Heaven" among the Monguors are hard to define.

Can "Heaven," which is unable to control the good spirits, control the evil spirits? According to the Monguors, no spirit can control the department of its neighbor, and so in case of interference of evil spirits, magical devices are contrived in order to drive away and combat the evildoers and make them harmless. The good spirits, however, are invited to participate in the struggle against them. When the spirits of hail threaten the village with devastation, magic devices are used by the shamans, and the spirit protectors of the village are carried to the battlefield, and Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" are invoked. If they are unable to match their opponents, they abandon the struggle, rushing with their carriers through rivers and precipices. Good spirits can lend a hand in the struggle, but they may lose the battle and—so much for "Heaven and all the spirits." Facts speak for themselves.

Is not this fierce struggle between good and evil 771
spirits, between representatives of two opposite worlds, reminiscent of Manichaeism, fervently practiced by Turkic peoples in Central Asia during the last centuries of the first millennium? [p 150(A)]

771 Does the joke played during the spring feasts between the shamans, concerning the making of men and women by the good Tengris, and the storm caused by the nefarious Erlik in order to disturb the good actions of Tengris, not warrant also the same assumption? Or is the struggle between two opposite powers a specific characteristic of shamanism? If so, it is no wonder that shamanism was a field well prepared for the planting of Manichaeism, with its dualistic principle of light and darkness, whose powers were engaged in an endless struggle.

BEHAVIOR OF THE MONGUORS TOWARDS HEAVEN

772 The whole day long the Monguors, like their neighbors the Chinese, use the word "Heaven" in their conversation. They use the Chinese expressions: "Heaven knows it," "Heaven sees all things," "It is impossible to cheat Heaven," "Heaven punishes him," "Heaven rejects him," "Heaven does not bless him," "Heaven determines destiny," "It was decided by Heaven"; even a child born out of wedlock or by a girl married with the pole, is called "born by Heaven."

One can easily be impressed by this fact and induced, 772
at first glance, to believe that the Monguors are very 788
dutiful toward Heaven, and harbor convictions that they 776
depend entirely on Heaven; that they trust in Heaven alone in all circumstances of life, and that Heaven is considered the omnipotent, omniscient, equitable regulator of the universe and its inhabitants. However, when a happy event is announced they clap their hands, and with a gleam in their eyes happily say, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when bad news is broken they say pitifully and sorrowfully, "Om Mani, Om Mani"; when they are suffering with pain, or when a calamity is imminent, they will sigh imploringly, crying, "Om Mani, Om Mani . . . help us!" The first cry of the heart is never a cry toward "Heaven" but the Om Mani to Buddha, for everybody knows that Buddha, who knows all things, is the personification of benevolence, always willing to help.

What is the factual position of Heaven in the fabric 772
of the daily life of the Monguors? After the first surge 776
of emotion and the cry to the benevolent Buddha, the "practical" Monguors start reasoning about the causes of the mischief. Because their world is crowded with mischievous spirits, they try to detect the mischief-maker, or to determine whom among the spirits they
have injured. When a member of the family is smitten [753]
with a severe disease, they suspect that they have offended the god who is the proprietor of the soil of their courtyard, the god of the hearth, the guardian deity of the family, or that they are the victims of the pranks of some evil spirit or of roaming souls which they had neglected to feed. Epizootics and epidemics, are supposed to be sent by the offended god who is the proprietor of the village or of the Obo. Lack of success

in business is ascribed to the spirit who is the guardian 772 of the wealth of some family, offended by the injustices 776 perpetrated by the unsuccessful businessman. When drought imperils the crops, they implore and propitiate the dragon god who cares for rain. They never envisage calamities or troubles as being a punishment of Heaven, and never try to propitiate Heaven, but they make recourse to the god who is supposed to administer the department in question, and try to conciliate him by inviting shamans or lamas. At that time Heaven and Buddha are overlooked. Exceptionally devout Buddhists will once in a while ascribe misfortunes to punishments sent by Buddha and invite lamas to pray for some days. However, such an act of religion is "never performed for Heaven."

PRAYERS AND OFFERINGS FOR HEAVEN

I have notice of only one occasion of a thanksgiving 796 rite for the reaped harvest of the year, performed by 776 the entire village. It is led by the chief and elders of the community, and an offering of a sheep or a pig is made on that occasion. The prayer is said and the offer made for "Old Father Heaven" alone, the stereotyped "all the spirits" being omitted.

This fact seems to be controversial because every family, giving thanks for the reaped harvest privately, makes its offering and says its prayers to "Heaven and all the spirits," and not according to the thanksgiving rite of the Chinese performed in the country for Heaven alone. The rite is the more controversial because, except in this case, offerings are never made, or prayers said by the Monguors, to Heaven alone. This exceptional rite appears to have been borrowed from the [177] Chinese at the time when the Monguors in Hsining exchanged their pastoralism for an agricultural economy.

The fact that the rite of the sacred animal still persists 796 among the Monguors (see above, pp. 105, 118), 782 may be evidence that the rite after the reaping of the harvest, directed to Heaven alone, was borrowed by the Monguors from the Chinese in Hsining. The rite of the sacred animal, which is characteristic of nomads, is both for the purpose of securing for the herds the blessings of fecundity and, at the same time, a rite of the first fruits, since it comes in the spring after the nomad "harvest" of lambs (see above, p. 118). It thus corresponds to the agricultural rite after the autumn harvest, when the crops have been carried to the threshing floor. The rite of the sacred animal is performed by the Monguor community at the lunar New Year (usually in February). It is in honor of the guardian deity of the village, and is performed within the temple of the village and also in the living room of each family, before the altar of the guardian spirit of the family and in its honor. This rite of thanksgiving for the newborn livestock is never devoted, by the Monguors, to Heaven, nor is it performed outdoors, on the tops of mountains;

and this is also true among the Mongols[4] and the 796
Buriats.[5] If, then, the rite of the sacred animal, which 782
is specifically and characteristically an ancient nomad rite, is never directed to Heaven, one would not expect the harvest rite, if it were simply a later substitute for the rite of the sacred animal, to be directed to Heaven; but since this rite, uniquely and exceptionally among the Monguors, is in fact directed to Heaven, there is strong reason to infer that the harvest rite of the Monguors is a borrowing of the identical harvest rite of the Chinese of the Hsining region.

In all other circumstances, the "spirit of Heaven" is 796
honored in conjunction with "all the spirits" by means of a single rite performed for them in a group, and by means of the same offering. At the morning Wei-sang, made by the head of the family, a cry is uttered, "Heaven and all the spirits" (some Monguors add the name of the guardian deity of the family), and three prostrations are made for all of them, while the offering burns. On New Year's eve, the chief and elders of the village, after lighting a big fire in the temple yard, prostrate themselves three times for the group "Heaven and all the spirits."

In every family, on New Year's eve, a big fire is lit and the same rite performed. During the celebration of a sixtieth birthday a fire is lit in the courtyard and the hero of the feast performs this same rite. The last rite, in order to be preserved from hail, is performed by all the villagers on top of the highest mountain of the village, where all the statues of the temple are carried and a big Wei-sang performed, and there the protection of "Heaven and all the spirits" is implored. At [585]
marriages, the new couple prostrate themselves before a big fire in the courtyard, for "Heaven and all the spirits" in keeping with the command of the master of ceremonies.[6]

Two exceptions are to be recalled, which have already 776 ●
been noted, concerning the rite on the Obo and the offering of a sheep to the guardian deity of the family. On these occasions the "spirit of Heaven" receives its part of the offer first, followed immediately by an identical offering for "all the spirits."

These two facts and that of the thanksgiving rite in the temple, to be sure, give evidence for the prominence of "Heaven" and apparently manifest its honorary position among the Monguors. Surely they help the Monguors remember this honorary prominence every time the formula, "Heaven and all the spirits," is used.

It is noteworthy that Heaven and all the spirits are always honored in the open air, in courtyards, on top of a roof, or on top of a mountain, never inside a temple or a living room. In old China, "all the spirits" were

---

[4] See above, p. 119; also Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 90.

[5] Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 240.

[6] L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-jen (Monguors)* **du** *Kan-sou,* 71, Changhai, Imprimerie de la Mission Catholique, 1932. The same rite is recorded among the Mongols, by Schmidt, *op. cit.* **10**: 74, and among the Buriats, *ibid.*, 301.

honored in the open air temples being built only for 776
souls of the deceased.[7] Among the Monguors, temples
are built for all kinds of spirits. Heaven, however,
has no temples.

The Monguors have no special offering for "Heaven." In former times, according to their traditions, horses were offered to "Heaven and all the spirits." At present the sheep is the usual offering. It is offered to all kinds of spirits and on all occasions. Rich people, or large villages, often offer a pig.

The most important event in a Monguor community 241
is the rite performed in spring, in order to obtain 796
blessings upon the community and the crops during the
year. All possible spirits are invited into the temple
along the rope, except the lama deities. The feast starts
at night, with offerings, dances, and drum beating by
the shamans for "Heaven and all the spirits"—but nobody attends this night rite, not even the chief or elders
of the village! And during the two days that the rite
lasts, not a single mention is made of "Heaven"!

The appointment of the new Tu-ssu is announced, not 622
to "Heaven and all the spirits," but to the ancestors and
to the protector deity of the clan, with an elaborate
ceremonial, and their blessings are implored upon the
T'u-ssu and the clan. (See Part I: 46.)

At the triennial visit of the T'u-ssu to his villages, the image of the guardian deity of the clan is reverently carried to the villages and honored for three days. However, not a single rite is performed for Heaven by the chief of the clan, not even at the yearly cult of the ancestor of the clan, when the entire clan is assembled. (Part I: 37, 64.)

No Monguor hopes his soul will ascend to Heaven 775
and enjoy happiness together with the great "spirit of 772
Heaven," in a place of joy and felicity. The Mongols
have no notion of such a place belonging to the "great
Heaven"; they only know the luxurious paradise of
Buddha, where they are told they will enjoy happiness
with Buddha during the period of time preceding a new
rebirth, about which they seem to have very little interest.

All these facts seem to prove that at present the Mon- 776
guors are very remiss in the cult of their undefined and 171
vague "spirit of Heaven," who is without departments
of activities, having no power over good and evil spirits,
and no omnipotence. The "great Heaven" is not the
so-called "Hochgott," but a spirit enjoying an honorary
prominence.

In connection with this problem, it should be kept in mind that the habit of ascribing prominence to one among the spirits seems to be very old in Asia: "In Babylon and Assyria [3,000 years ago] the principal god of the city which happened to dominate the entire nation, became the supreme god of the realm."[8] "Al-

---

[7] Henri Maspero, *op. cit.*, 202.

[8] Albert Condamin, S.J., *La religion des Babyloniens et des Assyriens*, 692, Jos. Huby, Christus Beauchesne, Paris, 1923.

though Babylonians and Assyrians had a trend toward 776
monotheism, they never fulfilled it. They always pre- 171
served their monarchic polytheism with a prominent god, chief of an army of innumerable gods."[9] In Persia, at the time of the Achaemenians (688–333 B.C.), Ahura Mazda received the highest worship instead of the god of Heaven, and was assumed to be preeminent among the other deities.[10] It is interesting to encounter today the same trend of mind among the Buriats.

> In general all Buriat groups have their own supreme deities, either special to themselves or shared with the rest of the Buriat world; with these deities they stand in a relationship of direct descent and they invoke the deities in time of need. The supreme ancestor of a given group may be one to whom that group attributes the descent of all Buriats.[11]

In concluding this section it is appropriate to re- [776]
member that it is a fact that the true concept of a crea- 771
tion *ex nihilo* has not been found in any philosophical system or religion except the Biblical revelation; even the specific concept of the transcendency of God has not been expressed by any philosophical system or religion except Christianity.

In order to understand the psychology of the Monguors regarding the "spirit of Heaven," it seems advantageous to recall first what is known about the subject among the old Turkic Mongol tribes, ancestors of the Monguors; second, to recall the religious experiences through which these tribes passed at the hand of foreign religions diffused in their countries. It will be well also to consider the impact of Nestorianism, especially upon the Mongols upon whom the Monguors depended, and the effects of this impact in relation to the idea of the "spirit of Heaven."

CULT OF HEAVEN AMONG THE TURKIC–MONGOLS

It is common knowledge that the Turkic-Mongol[12] 776
tribes of Central Asia, according to historical data, rec- 171

---

[9] *Ibid.*, 698.

[10] Albert Carnoy, *La religion des Perses*, 306, Jos. Huby Christus, Paris, Beauchesne, 1923.

[11] Professor Lawrence Krader, Buriat Religion and Society, *Southwestern Jour. Anthropology* 10 (3): 339, 1954.

[12] René Grousset, *Empire Mongol, 1re phase*, 1–3, De Boddard, Paris, 1941. Only on linguistic grounds can we vindicate the existence of an Altaic group including Turks, Tungus, and Mongols. Only from the sixth century A.D. was the term "Turk" used for one of the proto-Turkic tribes. In the twelfth century appeared the term "Mongols" as generic name of the proto-Mongol tribes. Earlier, however, the Hsiungnu tribes (third century B.C to second century A.D.), and T'opa tribes (who occupied North China in the fifth and sixth centuries) spoke Turkic languages; the Hsienpi (second century), the Juan-Juan in Mongolia, the Hephthalites in Turkestan (fifth century), and the Ch'i-tan (who occupied North China 907–1125) spoke Mongol languages. The Hsiungnu Turks dominated Central Asia until the second century, A.D., the Hsienpi Mongols dominated East Mongolia in the second century A.D.; T'opa Turkic tribes succeeded in the struggle for domination

ognized "Heaven" as enjoying a position of prominence among the gods and spirits they worshipped. Did this recognition, however, entail an intensive cult of "Heaven" among these Altaic tribes, or was this prominence only one of purely honorary dimension, as among the Monguors? A substantial answer to this question seems to be the synthesis encountered in the study by W. Schmidt concerning the subject among the Turkic-Mongol tribes. In an account from the "oldest available texts," he concludes his study about the Hiungnu (the oldest Turkic group) by saying, "We are still uncertain whether the being called 'Heaven' is, in the strict sense of the word, the 'Highest Being'; and finally, the position and relation of this being toward the other higher beings are not explained." [13]

Concerning the problem of the offerings he remarks, "The position of the other higher beings is more prominent than that of the being called 'Heaven'." [14] In the texts, the formula, "Heaven and deities" is used by the old Turks, and beside it there is also the formula, "Ancestors, Heaven and Earth, Spirits and Deities," and several times "Heaven" alone.[15] According to these texts, the religious notions of the old Hiungnu seem to have been at least as confused as those of the Monguors of today.

The conclusion of W. Schmidt about the religious notions concerning "Heaven" among the T'u-kiue (A.D. 551–800), another Turkic group, is that the texts fail to make clear that the being called "Heaven" by the T'u-kiue is the "highest being" in the strict sense of the word, but their content seems to hint at the fact that

---

in North China with the Hsienpi, while the Juan-Juan Mongols succeeded in settling in the Gobi region. During the sixth century the "Turks" dominated in Mongolia and west Turkestan; and in the eighth century the Uigur (Turks) and in the ninth the Kirgiz (Turks). From 924 on, Mongol and Turkic tribes struggled for the domination of Mongolia until the thirteenth century, when the Mongols triumphed under Chingis Khan. During all these centuries the conquerors agglomerated, collecting into their groups the defeated tribes. The empires of the steppe were composites. Pastoralism and nomadism more than identity of language held the tribes together. Hence the confusion and amalgamation in the field of religion, cult, and customs. (While the distinction between proto Turkic-Mongol tribes is often based on a few controversial linguistic data, authors do not always agree upon the classification of some tribes into one or another of the two groups; for instance the Hsienpi and Ch'i-tan. Among the She-wei a tribe called Meng-wu (seventh–ninth century) is noted, which would be the first mention of the name of the Mongols.)

[13] Schmidt, *Ursprung der Gottesidee* 9: 20. "So dass wir auch noch in Ungewissen bleiben, ob das Himmels-wesen ein volles Höchstes Wesen ist. Schliesslich bleibt auch sein Erhaltnis zu den übrigen höheren Wesen ungeklärt."

[14] *Ibid.*, 19. "Das Opfer ist etwas reichlicher bezeugt, und hier treten auch die übrigen höheren Wesen mehr in den Vordergrund, sogar stärker als das Himmelswesen."

[15] *Ibid.*, 13. "Dass der Grosskhan das Opfer darbrachte 'seinen Ahnen, dem Himmel und der Erde, den Geistern und Göttern' . . . ! Er opferte den Himmel und den Göttern! . . ." B. 10: "das var vom Himmel verfügt . . . der Himmel hat dich geschickt. . . . Der Himmel erzürnte sich . . . wenn der Himmel nicht seine Pläne mit dem Hiung nu hatte. . . ."

such a notion existed in their minds.[16] His conclusions relating to the religious notions concerning "Heaven" among the Uigurs (745) who overthrew the T'u-kiue realm and the majority of whom were converted to Manicheism, are: "Since we have only a few fragmentary facts about their old religion it is impossible to get a clear idea about it."[17] This interesting study by Schmidt affords all the data available concerning the cult of "Heaven" among the old Turkic groups, which seems to have been as confused in former times as today among the Monguors.

It would be interesting to read the syntheses of Schmidt concerning the corresponding cult among the proto-Mongols. However, only a study concerning the Altai Tatars is provided, based on data collected by Russian ethnologists since the latter half of the eighteenth century, which reflects very confused notions existing at that time.[18]

However, in the *History of Chinese Society: Liao (907–1125)* Wittfogel and Feng provide the most instructive material concerning the tribal religion of the Ch'i-tan, tribes belonging to the Mongol stock, living just before the time of Chingis (1162–1227).

> Their pantheon includes gods of Heaven, Earth, and Sun, of the *Mu-yeh* and of the Black Mountains, the god of the fire, perhaps the prototype of the sacred fire of the Mongols, the gods of war and of metal, personified deities, supernatural powers thought to be immanent in trees, mountains, etc., an endless legion of souls of the dead, spirits of the two tribal ancestors appealed to at the temple seats; the souls of the general populace, which were protected by the gods of the Black Mountain. No explicit descriptions are encountered of the thereafter, but the funeral offers seem to imply a life after death with definite pastoral and military features. Heaven and Earth were usually appealed to together. Friendly supernatural powers had to ward off the danger of the evil ones.[19]
>
> Solemn announcements were made to Heaven, Earth and the Sun, sometimes with the aid of fire, or from the top of a mountain. Twice a year the two tribal ancestors were officially honored by sacrifices of horses or oxen. Sacrifices of horses, oxen, sheep or geese were performed to win the favor of the gods, and on the tenth month were enacted for the spirits of all the dead.[20]
>
> Tribal priests or shamans exercised political and religious power, non-official Wu had become guardians of a subsidiary religion.[21]

---

[16] Ibid., 39, "So fehlet also noch viel, dass das Himmelswesen der T'u-kiue Religion als ein wirkliches und volles Höchstes Wesen erscheine, aber die für uns jetzt nur schwach ansetzenden spärlichen Linien seiner Charakterisierung scheinen in ihrer Verlängerung all auf ein solches Wesen hinaus zu laufen."

[17] *Ibid.*, 40, "Bei dieser verwirrten Geschichte seines stark gemischten Volkes, das dann so bald schon eine ganz andere Religion annahm, wird es verständlich, dass wir von ihrer alten Religion nur spärliche und fragmentarische Nachrichten besitzen aus denen man unmöglich ein irgendwie klares Gesamtbild gewinnen kann."

[18] *Ibid.* 9: 71.

[19] K. A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, reprint from the *Review of Religion*, May, 1948: 351.

[20] *Ibid.*, 358.

[21] *Ibid.*, 359.

legiance to him.[51] War broke out and finally a new 175
dynasty arose, the Hou Han, 947–950. 795

Did the defeated Shat'o troops of the Hou Chin join the faithful governor? Did they submit to the new Hou Han dynasty and remain in their own country? Did the Öngüts of the northern bend of the Yellow River come over to lend a hand? For how long did the Öngüts remain in that troubled country? At least the Öngüts of Lin T'ao were taken prisoners and transplanted to Manchuria, not by the Liao (907–1125) but by the Kin (1125–1235).

It is common knowledge that the Öngüts of both Shat'o dynasties (923–947) were fervent adherents of Buddhism, as were the Shat'o of Hsining, who built the imposing monastery of Ta-fo-ssu in the very center of the city of Hsining (1280–1368). (See Chap. II, p. 14.)

Even if we suppose that Nestorianism were diffused among the Hsining Shat'o, certainly it would not have been done by the Buddhist Shat'o dynasties, but by the Shat'o from the northern bend of the Yellow River, who immigrated into Lin T'ao, if at that time they were already Nestorians. Furthermore, can the apparitions in the vision of the emperor T'ai tsung definitely be explained as Nestorian images worshipped by the Lin T'ao Öngüts, or could they have been Buddhist or Manichean images? This question is still controversial.[52]

All that I can say in summing up is that I never could succeed in tracing any evidence that Nestorianism was ever professed by the Shat'o of Hsining.

CONCLUSION OF THE CHAPTER

If the Heaven beliefs of the Turkic-Mongol tribes 795
are to be assessed in conjunction with what is known 776 ●
about the Monguors, whose ancestors settled in Huang- 771
chung in 1227, at the time of the death of Chingis Khan, then taking into account the Monguor formula of "Heaven and all the spirits," the cult of an undefined Heaven, the host of honored spirits and the predilection for shamanism which survived the intensive indoctrination of Lamaism experienced by the Monguors in Huang-chung, it seems sound to assume that among other Mongol tribes "Heaven" must have occupied a similar position of honorary preeminence.

The tangled problem may be summarized as follows. 795
In former times the old Turkic-Mongol tribes had no 776
notion of a heaven or a hell where, after death, men 775
would be rewarded for their merits or punished for 771
their sins. They lacked the notion of an immortal soul. The soul, after having dwelt for a short while near the burial place, or in an undefined underworld, was supposed to vanish. Even at present the Monguors believe that their ancestors vanish after three generations. Their aspirations and hopes were, ac-

---

[51] *Idem.* 4: 68.

[52] Wittfogel and Feng, *op. cit.*, 308-309. [p. 156 (B)]

cordingly, concentrated on the happiness and help 795
needed during their actual lifetime here on earth. 776 ●

However, they had populated the world with a host 775
of good and evil spirits on which they thought they 771
depended. They curried the favor of the good spirits and tried to secure their good disposition so that they would stay the hands of the evil spirits, and bless them during their lifetime here on earth. Among those spirits was the Spirit of Heaven, whose nature we have no means of distinguishing from that of the other spirits to whom more sacrifices were offered. (See above, p. 153.)

The shaman, whom they knew to have access to the 756
world of spirits, was only engaged in providing them 776
with the protection and benefits needed during their 771
life. At present the activities of the shamans are still limited to that same sphere of action. The diffusion of Buddhism opened new vistas in the world of religious thought of the Turkic-Mongol peoples. A Buddha of benevolence appeared, enthroned in a paradise to which all people could have access and where all could enjoy happiness during the time preceding a new, happy rebirth. The concept of this intervening time became so endlessly long that the idea of rebirth was practically forgotten and put aside. However, a more concrete notion of the soul came to be developed.

In addition to the paradises, Buddhism revealed the 775
existence of the eighteen hells and the presence of the 771
terrible judge of the dead who decided about the future, according to acts morally good or bad. The shamans also told about Erlik Khan. However, the Turkic-Mongol tribes living on earth still hoped for blessings here, and were taught that the benevolent Buddha could secure them. Hence, next to the cult of the old spirits was the cult of Buddha, the throng of devotees invoking blessings and protection through the Om Mani. In this way the fervent shamanists became also fervent Lamaists.

We have no way of making sure what the impact of Nestorianism may have been upon the Turkic-Mongol tribes in later times, in promoting the development of a more concretely defined notion of the "spirit of Heaven," and its preeminence over the other spirits or even how long such an impact may have lasted. We do know, however, that Turkic-Mongol tribes honored Heaven and offered sacrifices to it, as well as to Buddha and all the spirits, and that consequently they were not monotheists.[53]

XV. RELIGION AND THE COHESION OF THE CLAN

The Monguor clans, from the time of their submis- 614
sion to the Chinese empire (1368), were friendly dis- 648
posed toward the empire. Their chiefs received military titles and offices, and enjoyed the right to admin-

---

[53] Schröder, *op. cit.*, 217, *et seq.* [p. 157 (A)]

The emperor praised the military prestation of Li
Yin and sent delegates from Peking with laudatory 175x
letters and with the order to come to Peking, the ex- 648
penses to be defrayed by the empire. He received the [703]
promotion of Yu-fu tso-tu-tu and rich gifts. The next
year he was honored with the title of Duke of Hui
Ning, and received an emolument every year of 1,100
tan of grain. At the same time the emperor, with [554]
delicate attention, bestowed upon his deceased father, Li
Nan-ko, the same title of Duke of Hui Ning (*Annals* of Kansu **42**: 47*a; Annals* of Hsining **27**: 11*a*).

Li Yin seemed to have reached the summit of a 175x
glorious career. However, a more eminent honor was 554
in store for him. His merits would be chiseled on a stele in a temple built by himself to remind future generations of the imperial dignities bestowed upon him.

In the Kuang-fu-kuan, a temple built in 1426 in the 175x
northeast corner of the city of Hsining, the following is chiseled on a stele (*Annals* of Kansu **30**: 45*a–b; Annals* of Hsining **35**: 6*a–b*):

> In 1422 in the eighth moon, Emperor Yung Lo, on his 175x
> way back from an expedition in the desert took a breath in 211
> Yu-lin (Shensi) and called to his tent the officials who had 539
> won the most distinguished merits during the expedition.
> He granted Li Yin the titles of Yung-lu ta-fu, Pillar of [703]
> the Empire and Duke of Hui Ning. Then the duke asked
> the emperor for permission to build in Hsining a temple
> in honor of the god of the war, in order to show gratitude [776] ●
> for the blessings bestowed upon the empire and the people,
> and to secure more blessings in the future. The emperor agreed. Back home, Li Yin ordered, a few days later, the building of the temple. In the tenth moon of 1426 he informed the emperor about the completion of the construc-
> tion. The emperor granted to the temple the name "Kuang- [795]
> fu-kuan" (Taoist temple of glory and felicity), and appointed five Taoist priests for the performance of the sacrifices and worship in the temple.
>
> One evening Li Yin was dreaming: he heard a man saying to him, "The God of War will appear." Instantly he dressed and adjusted his hat. Another man arrived carrying a tray with fine dishes. He invited Li Yin to come to his home to enjoy the dishes. Li Yin could not understand the circumstances of such an invitation. He thought it should be a spirit. Then he invited this man to come to his home. They were about to start with the dinner when all of a sudden the man said, "The spirit is there." Li Yin opened the door. He saw a man perfectly dressed, riding a white horse with a beautiful saddle and escorted by a numerous retinue. The man was like a king. The Taoist priest Ho Chao-tsung accompanied him, dressed in Taoist fashion, holding a book in his hands. He asked Li Yin: "The god will go first to the temple of the King Li. Is that correct?" Li Yin answered that he would first call at the Ning-fan Ssu (the temple of the appeased Tibetans). The entire group left. The sky was bright. On the way they passed a beautiful high building, enclosed by a high wall. They said, "The man who is living here does not belong to the lower range of society." They arrived at the gate of the temple. Li Yin dismounted from his horse. He was terrified. This happened on the eighth day of the seventh moon in 1423. In the winter of the same year the Duke was invited to see the emperor in Peking. He received his titles and precious gifts and returned to Hsining. What the Duke saw in his dream was the appearance of the god of war. It was a reward for his

[P.38(A)]